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ABSTRACT

Designed as a forum for the exchange of ideas concerning international and intercultural communication, this annual volume covers a wide variety of topics. Its seven articles discuss intercultural contact and attitude change, the survival stage of intercultural communication, interpersonal perceptions in a simulation game of intercultural contact, putting culture shock in perspective, inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic communication, communication networks and social change in developing countries, and human communication and cross-cultural effectiveness. The volume also contains a review of current literature and a cumulative index to articles and book reviews published in the first four volumes of the "Annual." (FL)

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Volume IV December 1977

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We are also seeking review copies of books, monographs, and other resource materials relating to international and intercultural communication. The *Annual* will also publish book reviews, evaluative reports of international conferences, and other features of interest to scholars, researchers, teachers, trainers, administrators, and practitioners of international and intercultural communication.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The *International and Intercultural Communication Annual* is a yearly publication of the Speech Communication Association devoted to the areas of international and intercultural communication. International communication refers to communication among nations through various channels including diplomatic channels, mass media, international organizations, and communication satellites. It includes both political and nonpolitical types of communication between two or more nations. Intercultural communication deals with communication between persons from different cultural backgrounds. Its primary focus is on face-to-face interaction between persons with differing cultural backgrounds. As a generic term, intercultural communication includes interracial communication, inter-ethnic communication, cross-cultural communication, and national development communication. Thus the *Annual* publishes articles on a wide variety of topics in the areas of international and intercultural communication.

Consistent with the goals of the Speech Communication Association, the *Annual* is designed to promote study, criticism, research, teaching, and application of the scientific, humanistic, and artistic principles of international and intercultural communication. It publishes articles, book reviews, and other features of interest to scholars, researchers, teachers, trainers, administrators, and practitioners of international and intercultural communication. We recognize the interdisciplinary nature of the areas of international and intercultural communication and the wide variety of orientations and approaches which can be used in these relatively new areas of communication. Fred Casmir, the founding editor of the *Annual*, in his editorial note for the second volume, emphasized the broad scope of this publication when he wrote: "As we realize the great need for the application of scholarly and scientific discipline and principles, I hope however, that we will not overlook the need for creative thought and challenge based on the insights of the experienced students and scholars."

Like the previous three volumes of the *Annual*, this volume has several articles dealing with various aspects of international and intercultural communication. Since we did not receive many manuscripts in the area of international communication, most of the articles in this volume focus on intercultural communication. This volume continues the tradition of publishing book reviews in the section of "Review of Recent Literature." The book reviewers for this volume include scholars, trainers, administrators, practitioners, and students of international and intercultural communication. Finally, this issue includes a cumulative index to articles and book reviews published in the first four volumes of the *Annual*. We hope that the index will facilitate greater use of the materials published thus far.

It is difficult to appropriately acknowledge, by name, each individual who contributed to the preparation of this volume. First, I would like to express my appreciation to present and former members of the Speech Communication Association's Commission for International and Intercultural Communication for their support to sponsor and publish the *Annual*. My very special thanks to the Department of Communication of Arizona State University for providing encouragement and support, in varied forms, for preparing this volume. I am thankful to the authors of the manuscripts, our consulting editors, Associate Editor William G. Davey, Book Review Editor Willard A. Underwood, our editorial assistants — Diana L. Hutchinson, Phyllis M. Schmitt, and

Lara Collins Witt — and many others who helped me in preparing this volume. I would like to thank William Work and Wilson Korpi of the Speech Communication Association for their assistance in publishing this issue. Finally, I want to thank my wife, Pushpa, and my children, Kelly, Neal, and Ravi, for allowing me to devote many of my "family hours" to complete this project.

Nemi C. Jain
Arizona State University
Editor

INTERCULTURAL CONTACT AND ATTITUDE CHANGE: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

WILLIAM B. GUDYKUNST

Previous research on the contact hypothesis and ethnic relations suggests that several "favorable" conditions are necessary if positive attitude change is to follow intergroup contact. This paper reviews the research on sojourners to other cultures and other forms of intercultural contact within the context of the contact hypothesis. Although the studies examined generally support the relationship between contact and attitude change, there are some major shortcomings with previous research. The paper concludes with a discussion of several conceptual and methodological issues which need to be considered in future research.

In recent years cross-cultural research has made many important contributions to the general study of attitudes. Cross-cultural studies have made these contributions utilizing three approaches.[1] The first approach is aimed at identifying differential characteristics of culture that may have a relationship to attitude formation and change. Included in this approach are studies of national characteristics, cultural self-image, modal personalities, and cultural orientations to influence and change. The second approach involves the impact of one culture upon another. This approach has focused on three areas of research: (1) images the people in one culture hold about people from another, (2) what happens when a member of one culture is exposed to people from another culture, and (3) responses to innovation as culturally foreign ideas are diffused in a new culture. The final approach examines "cultural influences on language and conceptual processes as intervening factors related to attitudes and behavior."[2]

This paper will focus on the second approach discussed by Jacobson and his associates, or more specifically, what happens when a member from one culture comes into contact with people from another culture. The study of intercultural contact is a subset of the more general study of intergroup contact. Intergroup contact generally refers to contact between people from different social units, either large or small. The major difference between intergroup and intercultural contact studies is the set of factors included in the analysis. For the purpose of clarity, the following stipulated definitions will be used in this paper: (1) intergroup contact will be used to refer to contact between people from two (or more) groups with no reference to the composition of the groups, (2) interracial contact will be used to refer to contact between people from two (or more) ethnic groups (e.g., black-white contact), and (3) intercultural contact will be used to refer to contact between people from two (or more) cultures (e.g., Japanese-American contact).

INTERGROUP CONTACT

One of the first researchers to become actively involved in examining the relationship between intergroup contact and intergroup relations was Kurt Lewin.[3] Since the work of Lewin, there have been several discussions of the "contact hypothesis" in the social psychological literature. For example, Saenger[4] and Allport[5] both devote a chapter in their respective books to the effect of contact on intergroup relations, while Harding, Kutner, Proshansky and Chein[6] have also reviewed the early studies on intergroup contact in their discussion of prejudice. A personal review of his own research on intergroup contact was presented by Stuart Cook in his Kurt Lewin Memorial Address to the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.[7] Further, Amir has completed a recent review of the literature on the contact hypothesis in ethnic relations.[8] In addition, there have been "annual reviews" of studies on intergroup contact done by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.[9] Finally, two recent books have examined various aspects of intergroup attitudes and relations.[10] However, it should be noted that these discussions of intergroup contact have generally concentrated on studies of interethnic contact rather than intercultural contact.

Favorable Conditions for Contact

Historically, the major assumption of the early studies conducted on intergroup contact has been that contact tends to produce better intergroup attitudes and social relations. However, there is conflicting evidence on the exact nature of the effect of contact on intergroup attitudes. Many studies support the assumption that intergroup contact reduces prejudice and increases favorable attitudes, but there is also evidence that contact may not reduce prejudice, or that it can even increase tension and cause violence. Because of the divergent nature of these findings, Sherif and Sherif have argued that "in any discussion on the effects of contact on intergroup attitudes, we must specify: what *kind* of contact? contact in what capacity?"[11] This view is reinforced by Amir and Garti's more recent discussion when they state: "Clearly, the outcome of ethnic contact depends upon conditions prevailing at the time of the contact, and conditions of both situational and personal nature."[12]

In his review on the kind of contact that leads to favorable attitude change, Allport concluded that four situational factors were of critical significance. According to Allport, prejudice is reduced and conflict minimized when two groups: (1) possess equal status in the contact situation, (2) seek common goals, (3) are cooperatively dependent upon each other rather than in competition, and (4) interact with the positive support of law and custom.[13] In a closely related analysis, Cook presents three similar dimensions for evaluating the contact situation and its potential for positive attitude change: (1) the opportunity that the contact situation offers for personal interaction, (2) the relative status levels of the participants, and (3) the nature of the social norms toward intergroup contact.[14]

Since the writing of Allport and Cook, other factors have been found that affect the outcomes of intergroup contact. Amir expands the list to include six factors:

> Some of the favorable conditions which tend to reduce prejudice are (a) when there is equal status contact between the members of the various ethnic groups, (b) when the contact is between members of a majority group and *higher* status members of a minority group, (c) when an 'authority' and/or the social climate are in favor of and promote the intergroup contact, (d) when the contact is of an intimate rather than a casual nature, (e) when the ethnic intergroup contact is pleasant or rewarding, (f) when the members of *both* groups in the particular contact situation interact in functionally important activities or develop common goals or superordinate goals that are

> higher ranking in importance than the individual goals of each of the groups.[15]

In addition, findings from a recent study suggest that one additional variable is important in influencing the outcome of contact. Amir and Garti found that changes in attitude were related to previous intergroup contact. Specifically, only people without previous contact displayed attitude change as a result of intergroup contact.[16] These writers suggest that people who have engaged in previous contact may have already altered their attitudes and are no longer susceptible to change.

Qualifications on the Effect of Contact

Ideally, if intergroup contact takes place under the conditions described by Amir and Amir and Garti, there will be positive attitude change and a reduction in prejudice among the people participating in the contact. However, there are six qualifications that warrant discussion. First, as Amir points out in his review of studies on the reduction of prejudice, it is possible that many of these studies report positive attitude change because of the selection of "favorable" experimental conditions. He goes on to argue that it is doubtful if intergroup contact in real life actually takes place under ideal conditions and, therefore, care must be taken in generalizing the results of the studies to real life contact.[17]

The second qualification concerns the direction of attitude change that follows intergroup contact. Guttman and Foa[18] argue that it is possible that contact is not always related to the direction of the attitude, rather, sometimes it may only be related to the intensity of the attitude. They found that "the proportion of people with a favorable attitude was the same, regardless of the amount of contact, but the *intensity* of the attitude increased with contact."[19]

The third qualification is the possible specificity of any attitude change that may take place following contact. Pettigrew argues that "intergroup contact first affects attitudes that are specifically involved in the new situation itself. But such contact does not generally mean that a person's whole attitudinal structure will crumble without other situations changing too."[20] Although this is true for many cases of intergroup contact, it is possible that an initial change in a specific attitude may generalize over time and change more general attitudes.

The fourth qualification involves the individual differences, or personalities, of the people involved in the intergroup contact. Pettigrew argues that "the psychological and sociological correlates of prejudice are elaborately intertwined and that both are essential to provide an adequate theoretical framework for this complex phenomenon."[21] Two characteristics of the individual that can influence the outcome of intergroup contact include: (1) the extent to which individuals differ from commonly held stereotypes of the object-group, and (2) the extent to which they resemble the subject-individual's background and interest.[22] Further, with respect to the attitude change, Cook and Selltiz point out that "the nature and intensity of initial attitudes toward the object-group; and aspects of personality or character structure may predispose one to hostile reactions to members of outgroups."[23]

The fifth qualification that must be considered is the possibility that the social climate surrounding the contact, rather than the contact itself, may be the crucial factor in causing attitude change. If the surrounding social climate is accepting, it may be unnecessary for actual contact to take place for manifesting positive attitude change. In other words, the social climate may be a factor confounding the results of previous studies on intergroup contact and attitude change.

The final qualification is the length of time that is available for contact. Many of the studies of interethnic contact have examined contact of only a few hours (i.e., 10-20) and found no resulting attitude change. Some research suggests that contact of only a short duration does not allow enough time to enable attitudes to change.[24] The short duration of the contact results in an incomplete psychological experience for the participants. Since the participants may not have internalized the full impact of the contact when they were originally examined, if they were to be reexamined some time after the experience there may be changes in attitudes observed where none were originally found. This qualification suggests that it is difficult to adequately interpret the findings of studies that have only collected data at one or two points in time.

Differences Between Intergroup and Intercultural Contact

Given the "favorable" conditions for intergroup contact and the qualifications on the effect of contact that have been summarized, there is one question that needs to be raised: will contact between people from different cultures, under similar conditions, also lead to favorable attitude change? While there are many similarities between interracial contact and intercultural contact, there are also differences in the contact (and contact situation) that may affect the relationship between contact and changes in attitudes. The differences between these two kinds of contact situations have been discussed by Stuart Cook and his associates[25] and Rich and Ogawa.[26] The differences between interracial and intercultural contact are important in that they are factors that must be considered in interpreting the results between the two types of research.

The first difference between the two types of contact situations involves the nature and extent of the preconceptions each group has about the other. In studies of interracial contact in the United States, at least some of the members from one group have negative stereotypes about members of the other group. Since these stereotypes are not always accurate, the people who hold them often realize that the object-people are more like themselves than they initially supposed. According to Selltiz and her associates, in the intercultural situation it may be neither party has any clear stereotypes of the other group or that both parties may have favorable preconceptions.[27]

The second difference between the two contact situations involves the abilities of the parties involved to communicate with each other. In interracial contact, the people are products of the same culture and, in general, speak the same language. In addition, they tend to have similar values and patterns of thinking. Given these conditions, once the parties begin to communicate they can usually begin to understand one another. In intercultural contact, none of these factors may be similar. Even if the language is not a barrier, the differences in values, assumptions, patterns of thinking, and nonverbal cues will present many differences that must be overcome.[28]

Another difference between interracial and intercultural contact involves the broader context within which the contact takes place. Most of the studies in the United States have concentrated on a limited situation such as the work situation. In these limited situations, it can usually be assumed that the only major new experience that might lead to changes in attitudes is the interracial contact. Selltiz and her associates argue that this is not so for people who are in a foreign country. For the person visiting a different culture, "personal associations are but one part of a whole new experience. At the same time, he is accumulating a variety of impressions about a complex national life which, by and large, is unfamiliar to him."[29]

The fourth difference involves the range of relevant attitude objects. Most of the studies on intergroup contact have examined Whites' attitudes towards Blacks. In an intercultural contact situation, there is a much wider range of attitude-objects. Because of this, the generalization of attitudes that do develop becomes even more salient in the intercultural situation.[30]

The final difference between interracial and intercultural contact has been discussed by Rich and Ogawa. They contend that interracial contact "is characterized by strain and tension resulting from the dominant-submissive societal and interpersonal relationship historically imposed upon the non-white by the structure of white America."[31] This differs from intercultural contact which does not necessarily have a history of dominant-submissive relationships.

These differences in the interracial and intercultural contact make it more difficult to isolate the effects of personal associations, or contacts, upon attitudes in intercultural situations. Even though it is more difficult to isolate the effects on attitudes in intercultural situations, most international exchange programs are based on the assumption that intercultural contact will lead to favorable attitude change and better relations between members of the two cultures.

INTERCULTURAL CONTACT IN NATURAL SETTINGS

According to Kelman (1962), there are four types of activities on the international scene that are designed to produce more friendly attitudes: "international communication, exchange of persons, foreign aid projects, and cooperative international ventures."[32] In this paper, only the literature dealing with "exchange of persons" will be examined. There has been considerable material written on the international exchange of persons,[33] but unfortunately very few of the studies have empirically examined the effect of the intercultural contact on the cross-cultural attitudes of the participants.

Studies on the exchange of persons can arbitrarily be divided into two general categories: (1) studies of sojourners who are mainly filling the role of "student," and (2) studies of sojourners in roles other than student. Many of the studies to be discussed have been previously reviewed by Brein and David.[34] However, the present review focuses only on those aspects of the studies that are directly applicable to intercultural contact and attitude change.

Studies of "Student" Sojourners

One of the earliest and most extensive research efforts to study student sojourners was conducted by the Committee on Cross-Cultural Education of the Social Science Research Council during the early 1950's. The research sponsored by the Committee led to numerous monographs[35] and initiated a research tradition which influenced numerous studies of student sojourners.[36] Although these studies have focused on many diverse areas of research, only those dealing with contact and attitude change will be addressed here.[37]

Many of the findings with respect to student sojourners lend support to contact hypothesis, and the conditions necessary for favorable attitude change specified earlier. For example, the necessity for equal status among the participants is supported by studies conducted by Morris and Lambert and Bressler. Morris found that for those foreign students who perceive that Americans give their country lower status than they do, there is an unfavorable attitude toward this country. On the other hand, if the foreign students perceive that Americans give their country higher status than they do (or at least the same status), they are more likely to develop favorable attitudes.[38] Further, Lambert and Bressler conclude that students who perceive that Americans hold an unfavorable image of their country will not develop "friendly" attitudes toward the United States. They go on to state that for amity, contact is not enough, especially if protracted contact serves only to accumulate a series of assaults on the self-esteem of nationals of low-status countries.[39] In addition to equal status, studies of student sojourners lend support to the necessity of intimate rather than casual contact. Selltiz and her associates concluded from their study that the "results suggest that extensive and intimate social relations with Americans tend to be associated with favorable attitudes, especially concerning aspects of American life that involve face-to-face relations."[40] The results of Sewell and Davidsen's study of Scandanavian students support this finding. These writers found that the foreign students who came to the United States for social or cultural reasons (rather than professional) interacted more frequently with Americans and had more favorable general attitudes toward the host culture.[41]

Studies of student sojourners suggest that one additional condition influences the nature of attitude change following intercultural contact: the length of contact. In a study of American students traveling abroad, Smith found that a relatively brief experience in another culture (i.e., four to six months) has a very limited impact on general attitudes such as worldmindedness, ethnocentrism, authoritarianism, and a belief in the democratic process.[42] This result is supported by Watson and Lippitt's study of Germans visiting the United States. Their results indicated that the group which was in this country the longest showed considerable positive attitude change and experienced much difficulty in readjusting after their return home. In contrast, a group which stayed in the United States a shorter period of time and displayed little attitude change during their stay developed positive changes after their return to Germany.[43]

Although these studies of international students in the United States and American students abroad appear to lend support to the contact hypothesis in intercultural relations, they can not be considered an adequate test of that hypothesis. These studies have examined students in their natural environments and generally have not controlled for other variables that might have influenced the outcomes of their studies (i.e., previous contact, surrounding social climate, etc.).

Studies of "Non-Student" Sojourners

The second category of studies on intercultural contact involves the examination of sojourners in roles other than that of student. Although there has been extensive material written on the international exchange of persons in roles other than student,[44] there have been relatively few empirical studies of the effects of these exchanges on participants' attitudes.

As with the studies of student sojourners, the studies of non-student sojourners tend to support the influence of intercultural contact on attitudes. For example, Kelman and Ezekiel's study of professional broadcasters visiting the United States suggests that the subjects' evaluations of America became more positive when compared to a control group.[45] These results were apparently due to several favorable conditions of the visit: (1) the experience was relevant to the subjects' professional concerns, (2) the participants had the opportunity to establish reciprocal relationships with broadcasters in the host country, (3) the opportunity for the participants to make personal contributions. (4) the opportunities the participants had for informal contacts with Americans, and (5) the enhancement of the subjects' national and personal status. These conditions very closely agree with the "favorable" conditions for intergroup contact summarized by Amir.

Two additional studies of non-student sojourners also tend to support these results. Gudykunst, Wiseman and Hammer found that the interaction of United States Naval personnel stationed in Japan and their evaluation of that interaction influenced their attitudinal satisfaction with living in Japan.[46] Further, a study of Korean immigrants in Chicago indicates that the immigrants' level of satisfaction was more closely related to participation in interpersonal communication with members of the host society (i.e., Americans) than to communication with other Koreans.[47] Kim argues that "this result suggests that, although the ethnic community may provide important social and psychological functions, the immigrants' feelings of happiness may come from his active communication participation in the host society."[48]

From the above studies of sojourners in natural settings, it seems clear that certain characteristics which visitors bring with them and certain conditions of their stay, strongly influence the interaction patterns and attitudes of the sojourners. The two major factors are nationality and previous foreign experiences. The studies reviewed suggest that three major conditions of the stay are crucial. First, for there to be favorable interaction and attitudes, the visitor needs to perceive that Americans rank their country at least as high as they do or higher. The second condition would be the opportunities that the visitors have for frequent and intimate interactions with the host nationals in an equal status situation. Third, the affective component of the sojourners' cross-cultural attitude will influence the nature and type of interaction in which they engage and also influence the sojourners' satisfaction with their stay in a foreign culture. In addition, as Smith and Watson and Lippitt have pointed out, the attitudes of a visitor may require a certain amount of time to develop and change.

INTERCULTURAL CONTACT IN A SMALL GROUP CONTEXT

The studies reviewed thus far involved the examination of intercultural contact in an uncontrolled (or natural) environment. There is an additional group of studies that have examined intercultural contact in a more controlled situation. These studies have generally concentrated on the effects of participating in an intercultural small group experience. Studies that have examined these various intercultural small group approaches can be divided into two categories: (1) those which have examined intercultural contact in a conflict situation, and (2) those which have examined contact in a nonconflict situation.

Contact in a "Conflict" Situation

Generally there have been three approaches utilizing intercultural small group experiences to solve intercultural conflicts. The first approach focuses on the *content* of the conflict with the emphasis on the international system as the level of analysis.[49] This approach tries to provide the participants with a knowledge of conflict theory (i.e., its conceptual language) in order to assist the participants in moving from the role of combative representative to that of conflict analyst. The second approach emphasizes the interpersonal interaction *process* in the group rather than any specific content. Both the National Training Laboratories' T-group method[50] and the Tavistock method of group relations[51] have been used. The third approach combines certain aspects of each of the other two. This approach includes discussion of topics with direct relevance to the conflict, introduction of theoretical issues, and process interventions using the group in order to explore intergroup (rather than interpersonal) relations.[52]

Generally, the studies examined suggest that intercultural contact in a small group context can not overcome strong previously held prejudiced attitudes and bring about better relationships between people in an intercultural conflict situation. Given the conditions necessary for positive attitude change following intergroup contact, these results should not be surprising. In conflict situations, there is generally a lack of: (1) equal status among the participants, (2) supporting social climate, (3) intimate contact, and (4) superordinate goals. Thus, positive attitude change would *not* be predicted given the findings from previous studies on intergroup contact.

Contact in a "Non-Conflict" Situation

As with the studies of contact in a conflict situation, the studies of intercultural contact in a non-conflict situation have used various small group procedures. Basically, two group approaches have been used in non-conflict situations to change attitudes and improve intercultural relations among the participants. The first approach is similar to one of the approaches used in conflict situations, namely the use of intercultural sensitivity groups. The second approach utilizes intercultural small groups generally referred to as Intercultural Communication Workshops (ICWs). While both of these approaches can be classified under the general rubric of human relations (or laboratory) training programs, there are significant differences between the two types of groups.[53] The major differences involve the goals and form of interaction that take place. The goal of a sensitivity group is personal change or personal growth which is accomplished through group discussion that focuses on the group and its interaction (i.e., the "here and now"). On the other hand, the goals of ICWs generally involve an awareness of how culture influences the participants' values, attitudes and behavior. This goal is met by group discussion that does not necessarily focus on the group interaction. Rather, the discussion may focus on a more intellectual level and include past experiences (i.e., the "there and then"). Thus, different outcomes would be expected from the two group experiences.

The studies of intercultural contact in a small group are not conclusive in their support for the contact hypothesis. One study of the effects of an intercultural sensitivity group on participants' worldmindedness was conducted by Hull. The results indicated that the American students participating in the experimental groups showed a significant increase in worldmindedness and retained the change five weeks later while there was no change for the control group.[54] Hull concluded that "attitudes of American university students toward students from other nations can be altered through group involvement methods, even those lasting only one weekend. How durable such alterations would be is uncertain at this point."[55] However, a similar study of an intercultural small group by Moran yielded no significant differences in worldmindedness following the weekend experience.[56] Another study by Gudykunst indicates that participation in an ICW does not affect attitudes toward other groups, but it does significantly influence the formation of cross-cultural friendships.[57] In addition, the results of this study support the finding that the surrounding social climate is an important factor in the outcome of intercultural contact. Specifically, the increase in the number of cross-cultural friendships that was found immediately following the ICW was not maintained when the subjects were re-examined six months later. Gudykunst suggests this may have been due to the removal of the accepting social climate of the ICW after its conclusion.

One additional study has compared two types of intercultural small group experiences concerning the quality of intercultural relationships and attitudes.[58] The results of Kiyuna's study indicate that American students who participated in the sensitivity groups displayed more favorable attitude change toward Asians than did the Americans in the ICW. Further, this researcher found that there were no changes as a result of participating in either group for the Asian students.[59]

Generally, the studies reviewed indicate that most writers have hypothesized that intercultural contact in a small group setting will influence attitudes, however, the data does not fully support this position. Only two of the studies reviewed[60] found changes in attitudes as a result of participating in intercultural small group experiences. Ironically, attitude change was found only among American students who participated in intercultural sensitivity groups. This is ironic in that these groups do not have the objective of improving intercultural relations. Although this is one of the objectives of the ICW, no attitude change was found in any of the studies reviewed. It is possible that the American participants in the intercultural sensitivity groups had not engaged in any previous intercultural contact and thus, were susceptible to attitude change. On the other hand, participants in the ICWs studied and the international students in Kiyuna's intercultural sensitivity group may have engaged in previous contact and were not susceptible to further attitude change.[61]

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

There is a major need for on-going research on intercultural contact. The research to be conducted would ideally have two purposes: (1) to help develop a theory of intercultural contact in general,[62] and (2) to determine what type of intercultural contact can best help to improve intercultural relations (for example, does naturally occurring contact or artificially created contact such as that in intercultural workshops have the greatest impact on intercultural relations). At first these two objectives would appear to be separate, but in fact they are highly interrelated. This position is consistent with Lewin when he argued: "It is important to understand clearly that social research concerns itself with two different types of questions, namely the study of general laws and the diagnosis of specific problems."[63]

The review of the literature presented above suggests several conceptual and methodological issues that need to be considered in future research. Specifically, there are at least three major conceptual issues (i.e., content areas of research) to be examined. First, the six qualifications on the effects of intergroup contact presented above should be examined in the context of intercultural contact. For example, in developing a theory of intercultural contact it will be important to determine whether the direction and/or the intensity of attitudes are influenced by contact. Further, given the wider range of attitude objects which can be affected in the intercultural contact situation, it is necessary to determine whether general or specific attitudes are changed. If only specific attitudes are changed, do these changes later generalize?

A second conceptual area that needs to be examined involves the components of the attitudes being influenced by the contact. In future research it would be important to determine if intercultural contact affects the cognitive, conative or affective component of attitudes.[64] In addition, when examining the cognitive component of intercultural attitudes, future investigators might profitably attempt to identify the different types of intercultural stereotypes which exist and which kind of contact will bring about changes in the different types.

The third area of content that needs to be examined involves the language utilized in the contact. The majority of studies reviewed involved foreign students in the United States speaking English, or Americans in other cultures also generally speaking English. The major question which needs to be addressed would be: what effect does the language have on the outcomes of intercultural contact? Is there a difference in the outcome if contact takes place in the host language, the sojourner's language, a third language or if language is avoided (and nonverbal forms of communication are used)?

While the three conceptual concerns presented above are important and deserve to be addressed in future research, there are several methodological issues which also need to be considered in future research. The first problem with previous work on intercultural contact involves the research designs utilized. In general, experimental designs have not been employed in studying contact between people from different cultures.[65] This has resulted in an inability to control for several extraneous variables which may influence the nature of attitude change following contact. For example, it would appear that previous contact, the surrounding social climate and exposure to media all may operate as intervening variables between contact and attitude change. If these variables are not controlled in some manner, it is impossible to determine the exact effect contact has on attitude change.

The second methodological problem with previous research is the tendency to operationalize contact as an either/or condition and examine the conditions under which contact takes place. Viewing contact in this manner ignores the fact that there are no clear boundaries to when contact begins and ends.[66] Further, conceptualizing contact as an either/or condition tends to ignore the study of the length of contact. In addition, implicit in this view of contact is also a tendency to assume that the greater the contact (under favorable conditions), the greater will be the resultant attitude change. This suggests a monotonic (i.e., linear) relationship between intercultural contact and attitude change. However, it is probably not realistic to assume there is a direct linear relationship between these two variables. In reality, the relationship between contact and attitude change is probably such that initially as contact takes place under favorable conditions there is a change in attitudes, however, at some point the rate of change tapers off and begins to decelerate. This relationship can be conceived of as very similar to the standard growth curve. Thus, it might be more profitable (from a theoretical point of view) to assume this relationship as curvilinear rather than linear. As Leik and Meeker have argued: "If we deal with a short enough time span, especially in mid-range of a growth or cyclic types of process, we may so truncate the underlying curve that linearity is approached. For some purposes that truncation poses little threat to the theory being developed, but it would be useful to adopt the general posture that 'process' implies change over time, that change cannot be limitless in any variable of a real system, hence the processes are inherently nonlinear. Even if linear forms are used, this posture will enable recognition of probable boundary conditions for the theory."[67]

The final methodological concern involves the cross-sectional (as opposed to longitudinal) nature of previous research on intercultural contact. The majority of studies have been correlational studies with data being collected at only one or two points in time. It would appear logical to view attitude change as a process that takes place over time. In order to adequately understand the process, it is necessary to examine the effects of contact using time series designs in future research.[68]

If the conceptual and methodological concerns presented earlier were to be incorporated in future research, there should be a resultant improvement in our theoretical understanding of the effects of intercultural contact. One of the more valuable and accessible research settings available to conduct the necessary research seems to be intercultural workshops and other similar intercultural small groups. These artificially created groups could serve as a good initial setting to begin the necessary research. However, it should be noted that an on-going research program cannot stop at examining contact in a small group setting. Eventually the effects of intercultural contact taking place in small groups must be compared with that taking place in natural settings.

NOTES

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[61] Moran; Gudykunst; and Kiyuna.

[62] This theory building aspect of research on intercultural contact would also ideally help develop a theory of intercultural communication.

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THE SURVIVAL STAGE OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

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A degree of order can be imposed on the ambiguities of intercultural communication by using a model of traveling with three stages. The first stage, survival, confronts the traveler with factors which dissatisfy. Most training programs deal with them and neglect the separate factors, the satisfiers. Upon arriving abroad, the traveler concentrates on the surfaces of daily life and is particularly sensitive to nonverbal communication. Daily life is perceived in glimpses, concealing the web of everyday entanglements which would be revealed in sustained experience. Nevertheless, the profounder levels of cultural differences affect the traveler. Conflict between the traveler's own culture and the host culture leads to culture shock. The experience results in painful learning about the two cultures in conflict. Insights from the literature on culture shock, from Schutz's treatment of the stranger, and from the social role of the consociate, cast some understanding on cultural survival of the traveler.

A dramatic shift in American images of other countries took place during World War II. Before the war, foreign lands were generally seen as the "old countries" left behind by emigrants eager to arrive on American shores and experience the opportunities of the New World. Victory in 1945 helped to establish durable spheres of American interest abroad. In addition to the many Americans who remained overseas in the armed forces, a steady flow of technicians, businessmen and students began to leave the United States to live and to work in foreign countries, supplementing the diplomats and missionaries who had for years dominated American interests abroad. The United States' growing economy encouraged waves of tourists.

In the early sixties, thousands of citizens went abroad for two years, as members of the Peace Corps explosion, increasing the number and diversity of Americans overseas. This sudden surge of departing volunteers created a strong need for training in language, international affairs and technical subjects, which in turn stimulated the study of the experiences of persons in unfamiliar cultural settings. Advances in the methodology of study and research, the generation of knowledge, and the cultivation of cultural skills gave rise to the area which is now called intercultural communication.

The newcomer, searching for cultural understanding or looking for a useful tool to reduce culture shock, finds the field confusing and ambiguous. The layman seeks in vain for guidelines, since communication

> . . . may involve the close at hand and the directly sensed — a purchase in the market, a job instruction, a piece of music. Or the subject might be highly abstract, as a scientific theory, a business venture, or a government plan. Specialists in intercultural communication focus their attention variously across this range, and also across varying aspects of behavior or social life. Some are concerned with contrasting rules for social relations; some focus on nonverbal gestures, or on "culture shock" when one meets the strange and different. Some will look at value orientation and "national character" to make a case for contrasting styles of reasoning or logic or for differing approaches to interchange, debate, etc. All of this comes under the intercultural communication umbrella.[1]

Specialists in intercultural communication have not imposed order on all the elements mentioned by Fisher. Perhaps the best explanation of the lack of distinctive methods of research, well-established theory and clear focus on content is to indicate that intercultural, like communication, is a problem rather than a discipline.[2] The stimulus for developing the area of intercultural communication has come from the contemporary need for persons to leave their own country to live and to work or study in another society where the strange culture presents obstacles that impede performance and disrupt adjustment. Definition of the problem identifies cultural factors, usually differences, as the blocks which must be overcome or neutralized. Solutions offered to the problem have usually been training programs given in the home country before departure or in the host country immediately after arrival.

Trainers and consultants in intercultural communication have seldom worked closely with theorists and researchers, who in the last twenty years have begun to build up a modest body of research and theory. Although there are formal definitions of concepts and precise identity of content in intercultural communication, these do not convey the character of the problem. Most of the terms and concepts, certainly the critical ones, are close to experience and emotion. They are concepts which *sensitize,* conveying a sense of reference and of orientation grasped through the evocation of personal experience.[3] The sensitizing concepts which make up a large part of the problem area of intercultural communication bring the specialist into the domains of the humanities and the arts, and often into competition with the objective edges of specialists who wish to make a discipline of the problem. The "state of the art" suggests that it is premature, if not misguided, to force intercultural communication into the mould of a discipline now.

This conclusion does not relieve the specialist from finding a model which serves to collect the disparate theories, skills and applications into an accessible order. The model should be spacious enough to accommodate the necessary insights from psychology, anthropology and linguistics, while also housing the humanities and the arts. Both theory and applications should reside comfortably within the model. Remembering that it was the rigors experienced by travelers that gave birth to the knowledge, developed the skills and spawned the doubts of intercultural communication, we propose that the traveler serve as the focus for collecting the ideas, experiences and theories of intercultural communication.

TRAVELERS AND TRAVELING

For the model of the traveler to gain the power to attract the numerous aspects of intercultural communication, it is necessary to impose two conditions on the model. The first of these is the requirement to consider traveling in successive stages, and the second is to look at the inner experience of the traveler. The first stage of traveling will be called the *survival stage.* Although our usage of survival will accommodate physical factors of food, health, housing, etc., we do not propose to raise specters of the unknown dangers of the road and seas which in antiquity discouraged all but the hardiest from traveling. It was only in the late nineteenth century that travel lost its direct threat to the safety and the life of travelers in the western world. Modern means of travel, inns, hotels and traveling services with tourist comforts, bring all areas of the world within reach of even those who choose to travel while avoiding physical adventures. Although physical threats are reduced to the random toll of accidents and of fortune, still the idea of adventure in travel persists. Survival no longer refers to the body and to life; instead it refers to the inner experience of adventure of a symbolic nature, to the ability to perform and to derive a satisfaction from life and work in another society.

To explore the inner experience of the traveler during the survival stage of traveling, we will rely on the observations of writers for the survival stage, primarily those of Paul Theroux.[4] We will explore the phenomenon of intermittent perception in which an object is viewed very briefly followed by a second object, a third, and so on. The briefness of exposure, and the quick succession of images, results in perception through glimpses, a process which has been exploited in films and in advertisements on television. We suggest that the experiences of the traveler may parallel those of perception through glimpses.

Another aspect of the inner experience has a social reference. The human contacts made by the traveler are of a particular sort, lacking both a past and a future. The meeting is brief, and the traveler continues on his journey without developing an enduring purpose in his relationships, intervening only briefly in daily routines. Survival is the only stage that we will examine, but before turning to it, a few comments about the next two stages are in order.

During the second stage of traveling, the inner experiences of the traveler become more important. He adapts to the new culture, and copes with changes in himself brought about by the new situation. Thus this stage is called *intercultural comparisons*, a period in which the traveler establishes professional and social connections and learns to live and work with cultural differences. His emotions consistently engage the relationship between his own culture and that of the society in which he finds himself. He is concerned with an inner experience most easily evoked by the artist, having to do with psychological competence rather than with work performance.

Only a few travelers reach the third stage of *cross-cultural contrasts*, which reveals a depth of understanding penetrating to the nerves of a society. Culture and cultural differences become tools of an analysis which goes beyond the culture-specific, transcends competence in the culture, and searches for universal knowledge of human behavior in which culture is but one means of understanding.

TRAINING FOR DEPARTURE

If we look at the prospective traveler some months before his departure, we find that his primary concerns are those of geography, culture, and the society at large. These thoughts during the passage of time lead to more keenly felt threats to health, personal hardships and social complexities. The list of apprehension is long and differs from person to person, and destination to destination. It is composed of the concrete factors which affect and may endanger personal well-being — the sources of misery for the traveler when neglected. They are negative, highlighting events that should not happen and conditions that should be avoided. In training, they may be approached as "do's and don'ts."

Psychologists have called them *dissatisfiers*[5]; their resolution means that dissatisfaction for the individual declines, but satisfaction does not rise. *Dissatisfiers* and *satisfiers* refer to different sets of conditions. The *satisfiers* may be considered as positive factors or working conditions and life-style which are meaningful to the individual. Of these two motives, the *dissatisfiers* are the more readily defined and easily resolved.

This concept leads to another significant observation. Motivational dissatisfiers lose potency with time and distance: one forgets the particular aggravations of noise or heat. The reverse also holds: as time shortens and distance shrinks, the dissatisfiers grow salient and increase in potency. Thus our prospective traveler at six months is concerned with the culture and society of the country to which he is going, but at the time of departure, his mind is preoccupied with the dissatisfiers. Because most preparation for another society takes place just prior to departure, participants arrive for training with a flurry of survival questions: the dissatisfiers. Practical application becomes survival training, since participants are not likely to accept anything else as valid. The prominence given in training to the objectives of immediately coping and surviving in different cultures helps to explain the diversity of views in intercultural communication. These practical activities are in turn reinforced by the emphasis on dissatisfiers.

An additional influence on the pragmatic pattern of intercultural communication may be traced back to the fact that our problem area has developed primarily in American culture. A review of the basic books in the area, or a perusal of publications such as *Intercultural Communicator Resources*[6], demonstrated that it is in the United States where most of the activity has taken place. Even non-American publications give prominence to the American effort.[7] The result has been that intercultural communication bears imprints of American culture. For example, the American cultural pattern of transforming issues or purposes into problems has become a specific and significant root for cultural survival. This means that attacking a problem implies the discovery of negative factors, obstacles and barriers. The problem pattern displayed in our case, that is, the preparation of the traveler, identifies the dissatisfiers of the intercultural experience, which are attacked at their peak: the training event just prior to departure or just after arrival. This pattern also means the neglect of the satisfiers, which often comes through to the participants as theory winging its way through empty space. Combined, these reasons can offer insight into the practical and applied aspects of intercultural communication in the cultural survival stage.

ARRIVAL AND SURVIVAL

Upon arrival in a foreign country, the traveler, having been trained in survival skills, is presumably prepared to cope with the immediate problems of housing, health, food, travel and security. He concentrates on the surfaces of daily life — the close at hand and the directly sensed — customs, habits and the organization of information which determine his survival in his first days in the strange land. During this first stage, the traveler neglects other aspects of the culture until his basic needs have been satisfied and the conditions of dissatisfaction have been reduced.

This initial stage of adjustment may last from days to weeks; it is in preparation for this period that survival training is given. The impact of this training lessens as daily routines are laid down and life becomes familiar. Beneath the hard surfaces of survival issues, the traveler has from the beginning confronted the deeper levels of cultural differences, which are typically perceived in nonverbal communication such as the traveler's use of time (promptness or lateness for an appointment) or of space (proximity in conversation), tone of voice, facial expressions, posture and body movement. Nonverbal communication is based on the *use* of a word and the *environment* in which it is used. Nonverbal communication codes differ from culture to culture, thus distracting or distressing the traveler who fails to understand them.

When the nonverbal aspect becomes the basis of the spoken message, it gives depth to the experience and often highlights abstract qualities of culture. These deeper insights are elusive, since nonverbal messages are ambiguous: the smile can convey delight, conceal embarrassment or mask rage. Its cultural significance and personal impact require extensive analysis and keen perception to make the original observation and to note its context. Traveling provides the conditions for surface perceptions and the simultaneous search for cultural meaning, but it is a rare traveler who has the skill to combine both kinds of impressions.

The universal appeal of a visit to another place is that life and the country are perceived in broad strokes; just as in the photograph, surfaces stand out. The knots of daily life — the acts of existence — are frequently represented, as in the photograph, by small and seemingly inconsequential details torn out of context. The traveler, seldom penetrating the surface, loses a scale of values. He is a capricious judge of societies and cultures. Like the photographer, who discards a picture because a stray shadow on a face suggests loss or who selects another to preserve the graceful curve of a neck, the traveler often develops strong likes and dislikes which elaborate inconsequential personal features.

Why is it so difficult to combine the surface perception with valid meaning? One possible answer hinges on the social perceptions of the traveler. Without cultural roots in the society, perceiving in glimpses, the traveler loses a sense of historical continuity in the people he meets. He can identify neither with predecessors nor with successors. The traveler is adrift in the social structure, lacking human links to the past and to the future. For travelers possessing a strong sense of lineal identity, the human void created in time can produce a poignant experience.

The traveler meets *contemporaries* in his journey, those who share a community of time.[8] The essence of the traveling experience is that the traveler and contemporaries become *consociates*: ". . . individuals who actually meet, persons who encounter one another somewhere in the course of daily life. They thus share, however briefly or superficially, not only a community of time but also of space."[9]

The analysis of contemporaries is appropriate but from the perspective of the traveler, the quotidian encounters would seem to introduce a qualitative difference. Sharing of space is fleeting and conveys different meanings to the consociates. It is not the same thing as meeting a consociate in one's own society pursuing the daily rhythms of life. For the traveler, the consociate abroad is likely to be an image, a symbol who lacks the fullbodied proportions of an intimate and daily associate, one who both shares and defines a community of space, and with whom there is an enduring purpose.

Travel is a lure which quickens perception and attracts the mind. Some leap at the chance to travel — to watch the moving parade of contrasts and differences which stimulate the imagination and guide the mind to act like a camera, to collect images of stone walls, vendors chanting in the evening, the smells of the earth, and black on every head. The mind stores these discrete images in the same way that a photographer composes a slide show of his trip: "Train travel animated my imagination and usually gave me the solitude to order and write my thoughts: I travelled easily in two directions, along the level rails while Asia flashed changes at my window, and at the interior rim of a private world of memory and language. I cannot imagine a luckier combination."[10] For Theroux, the changing images of travel evoke subjective feelings and impressions; he is able to journey into his private world of memory and language. Some gifted travelers are able to combine the subjective and objective journeys into one view. Most people, however, cannot quickly synthesize the two, and so lose the insight which the private world of "memory and language" brings to the "changes at the window." The critical aspect of traveling is perceiving daily life in glimpses, concealing the web of everyday entanglements which would be revealed in sustained and prolonged experience.

For the traveler, retrospection endows perceptions with a monumental quality. Such is the experience of a person walking down a hall, glancing briefly into each room before moving on and seeing blank walls. The people he remembers seeing in the rooms loom larger than life — they seem to swell to memorial dimensions as they change from glimpses to memories. Theroux, on the train out of London, captures the effect in a few words: "The sky was cold. Schoolboys in dark blue blazers, carrying cricket bats and schoolbags, their socks falling down, were smirking on the platform at Tonbridge. We raced by them, taking their smirks away."[11]

Theroux also comments on the nature of vision and what train travel adds that is missing in air or sea travel: "And the notion of travel as a continuous vision, a grand tour's succession of memorable images across a curved earth — with none of the distorting emptiness of air or sea — is possible only on a train."[12]

Sometimes what is perceived in a glimpse suffices for the astute observer who knows how motion and brevity guide the imagination to form the memorial image of the experience: "At a well near the halt of Indian Fort a Burmese girl was combing her hair. She was bent forward, all her hair down — so long it nearly touched the ground — and she was drawing her comb through it and shaking it out. It was such a beautiful sight on this sunny morning — that cascade of black hair, swaying under the comb, and the posture of the girl, her feet planted apart, her arms caressing her lovely mane. Then she tossed it and looked up to see the train go past."[13] There is the movement of travel in a momentary perception, as of the Burmese girl. The rapidity of the perception changes the image; it takes something away and then it adds something to make the image more voluminous than life. Part of the memorial quality is born in the mind's eye of the perceiver, in the realm of inner experience governed by the artist.

For the traveler, it is the *surfaces* of life which matter. Pursuing Theroux on trains through Asia, the statement rings doubly true. He has much to say about catching trains, about adapting to them, and about food and drink. His needs and necessities are on the surface. These are the issues which establish the security of the traveler and can appropriately be called his *survival needs;* the ability to cope with them is his *survival skills.*

Although Theroux concentrated primarily on the first level — survival — his insights cut deeper. He compares an Indian village with the train station:

> The railway dwellers possess the station, but only the new arrival notices this. He feels something is wrong because he has not learned the Indian habit of ignoring the obvious, making a detour to preserve his calm. The newcomer cannot believe he has been plunged into such intimacy so soon. In another country this would all be hidden from him, and not even a trip to a village would reveal with this clarity the pattern of life. The village in rural India tells the visitor very little except that he is required to keep his distance and limit his experience of the place to tea or a meal in a stuffy parlor. The life of the village, its interior, is denied to him.
>
> But the station village is all interior, and the shock of this exposure made me hurry away. I didn't feel I had any right to watch people bathing under a low faucet — naked among the incoming tide of office workers; men sleeping late on their *charpoys* or tucking up their turbans; women with nose rings and cracked yellow feet cooking stews of begged vegetables over smoky fires, suckling infants, folding bedrolls; children pissing on their toes, little girls, in oversized frocks falling from their shoulders, fetching water in tin cans from the third-class toilet; and, near a newspaper vendor, a man lying on his back, holding a baby up to admire and tickling it.[14]

The scene is a documentary of India. The public train station reveals the intimate life of the village and shocks the traveler. The clashing fusion of the exterior and interior views suggests a memorial experience for Theroux, the objective scene combining with his inner experience. He flees from its intimacy. At one point, Theroux reaches an abstract conclusion, coming from a perception more clearly rooted in himself than his reactions to the train station. He observes: "Galle was a beautiful place. Garlanded with red hibiscus and smelling of the palm-scented ocean, possessing cool Dutch interiors and ringed by forests of bamboo. The sunset's luminous curtains patterned the sky in rufous gold for an hour and a half every evening, and all night the waves crashed on the ramparts of the fort. But the famished faces of the sleepwalkers and the deprivation in that idyllic port made its beauty almost unbearable."[15]

The gifted traveler's observations, and his references to aesthetics, accomplish a practical purpose, providing a concrete analogy for experiences which travelers typically overlook. The usual traveler "senses" cultural experiences which are derived from concrete images, similar to Theroux's observations. For example, Peace Corps trainers frequently mentioned that volunteers, training in Puerto Rico while living with local families, were compelled to make unusual observations about age. In Puerto Rico, greater deference is paid the elderly than in the continental United States. The volunteers were required not only to perceive age, but to develop the means to determine relative position within the social hierarchy, for this also affected "proper behavior." The forced attention to this quality resulted in the volunteers' developing a keener awareness of themselves, and turning inside to examine their own perspectives. The intercultural perception had the effect of highlighting and enlarging some dimensions of identity and action for both the volunteer and the Puerto Rican. The process taking place was seldom recognized by the trainees, it was not conceptualized by the trainers, and therefore, the insights gained did not appear as part of the training program.

The raw grip of the glimpse poses a contradiction between perception and the inferences the traveler makes about the consociates he meets in traveling. When relying on the glimpse, perceiving as through a camera, the traveler reaches capricious judgments about other peoples and societies. The cross-cultural experience is bigger than life, since it evokes the traveler's own past experience as we saw with the Peace Corps volunteers in Puerto Rico. The traveler, however, usually is incapable of combining the meaningful cultural observation with the glint of perception gained in the glimpse. Nevertheless, the traveler through nonverbal communication and other ways quickly comes to grips with significant aspects of other societies. These experiences sensitize the traveler in the sense that they evoke attitudes and values relevant to the traveler's own culture. The stage is set for the condition which has been called cultural shock: conflict between two cultures carried out at disparate levels, the profound level of the traveler's own culture but at the surface level of the strange culture, as perceived by the glimpse.

The gifted traveler shares with the poet the imagination to integrate his perceptions with his own experiences and incorporate into his behavior the higher order quality of "bigger-than-life." When perceiving surfaces, the imagination simultaneously notes the form underneath. The perceptual conclusion can be phrased with respect to the social forms of the inner experience. The gifted traveler, like the artist, seems to combine in one social form the features of contemporaries and consociates which most people clearly separate. The imaginative fusion appears bigger-than-life.

Travel provides the ideal conditions for cultivating the perceptive fusing of perceptual surfaces and cultural meaning. The traveler is consistently faced with the unexpected, the unusual — but travel itself does not automatically give the traveler intercultural insight. When the imagination fails, the traveler experiences culture shock.

WHEN SURVIVAL SKILLS RUN DOWN: CULTURE SHOCK

Although a traveler may be prompted to react to the surfaces of daily living, he cannot avoid experiences which penetrate to the deeper layers of the culture. We have suggested these levels by highlighting the images and perceptions to which the traveler is naturally exposed. Although he might not be aware of this fleeting flow of experience — his subjective journey — its reality influences his outlook. What are the social psychological aspects of daily interaction which separate the traveler and his new consociates? Three general factors contribute to the continuing strangeness of the traveler: *perspective, features of knowledge* and *social references*. A brief outline of the three ideas closely follows the masterly essay, "The Stranger."[16]

For our purposes, perspective refers to the traveler's perception of the host culture from the outside, while his consociates naturally "sense" it from the inside. The obvious difference in perspective contains important distinctions seldom considered. The outsider's perspective penetrates the society objectively and discovers in the cultural pattern a field of adventure, not a shelter, and a problematic situation rather than an instrument for disentangling problematic situations.[17] Perspective of the cultural pattern from the inside organizes information intuitively, sensing rather than analyzing what serves behaving and living in the society. The individual exists as the center of learning and of consciousness implicitly evaluating information and skills according to degrees of relevance for daily life. The traveler as a stranger does not enter the inner circle of the society, he retains objectivity and at the same time his loyalty remains doubtful.[18] Circumstances exist under which these conclusions fail, but, generally the perspective from outside and inside, sometimes called *etic* and *emic*, leads to our seco[illegible]ctor, the features of knowledge associated with each perspective.

The traveler's task in learning the new culture may be compared with l[illegible] language. To some degree, the learner approaches the new language w[illegible] perspective, and masters formal aspects of the language whether these are [illegible] components or verbal habits evoked by conventional situations. In contrast a child learning his own native tongue, from the inside so to speak, has little need for formal knowledge of the language according to either structure of the language or speech events. The language is acquired as a living tool of communication relevant to the learner's actions. The learner acquires his cultural pattern in a similar manner with the end result that knowledge is organized in terms of relevance to actions. The insider's "knowledge of acquaintance" of his own culture contrasts with the "knowledge about" acquired by the outsider, our traveler and stranger.[19]

The inside knowledge of acquaintance typically organizes action in steps serving as means to overcome obstacles and further purposes. Relevance is the criterion used to judge the significance of information, giving rise to the concept of *graduated knowledge*, which suggests that the world is stratified in different layers of relevance, each requiring a different degree of knowledge.[20] The contextual quality of knowledge of acquaintance, generated in particular action situations of daily life, results in a system of folk wisdom which is incoherent, inconsistent and only partially clear.[21] Nevertheless, insiders of the culture accept their folk wisdom as

> . . . trustworthy *recipes* for interpreting the social world and for handling things and men in order to obtain the best results in every situation with a minimum of effort by avoiding undesirable consequences. The recipe works, on the one hand, as a precept for actions and thus serves as a scheme of expression: whoever wants to obtain a certain result has to proceed as indicated by the recipe provided for this purpose. On the other hand, the recipe serves as a scheme of interpretation: whoever proceeds as indicated by a specific recipe is supposed to intend the correlated result.[22]

The objectivity of the traveler quickly spots the contradictions of the cultural pattern but only infrequently penetrates layers of graduated knowledge to reach the assumptions of the cultural patterns. In his own society, the traveler employs his own cultural interpretive scheme, and one of its elements consists in preserving appropriate social references, the third social psychological difference separating the traveler and his new consociates. The scheme found in his own culture for interpreting the new consociates originates in the attitude of a disinterested observer. Beliefs and attitudes about contemporaries are fleshed out as vivid experiences with the new consociates. Before long the traveler discovers that his own reference group has provided him with an inadequate scheme for interpreting the vivid travel experiences. Although his own behavior subscribes to historical leads, the traveler interprets the consociates' actions ruthlessly in the present. Furthermore, acts of consociates are often misplaced as qualities of the group instead of particular features of individuals. The traveler's own folk assumptions and his scheme for interpreting the behavior of others in the new groups often fail for systematic reasons. ". . . the ready-made picture of the foreign group subsisting within the stranger's home-group proves its inadequacy for the approaching stranger for the mere reason that it has not been formed with the aim of provoking a response or a reaction from the members of the foreign group . . . . Consequently, the scheme of interpretation refers to members of the foreign group merely as objects of this interpretation, but not beyond it, as addresses of possible acts emanating from the outcome of the interpretive procedure and not as subjects of anticipated reactions towards those acts."[23]

In short, the traveler is prepared with a scheme for classification and not one to guide interaction. Both the traveler with his own folk wisdom, and the new consociates, with theirs, are governed by anonymous and typical patterns of thought which insure success and hence are judged as relevant.[24] Whereas folk wisdom provides recipes for *performance*, knowledge of others tends to address questions of *competence* rather than actions. Thus the traveler may know *about* others, but he usually lacks the inside acquaintance with their ways to be able to interact with the new consociates for sustained purposes.

A strange culture places many demands on the traveler — each act requires a decision, each day becomes partly threatening and partly frustrating. Eventually, these take their toll: the mounting pressures of fatigue, strangeness, overtaxed health and endurance frequently lead to an uneasy state. Theroux, traveling through Malaysia, reports:

> I sat and wrote; I read and went to sleep; I drank; and often I would look up and be incapable of remembering where I was, the concentration of writing or reading bringing on a trancelike state. Extensive traveling induces a feeling of encapsulation; and travel, so broadening at first, contracts the mind. It had happened briefly on other trains, but on this one — it might have been prolonged by the sameness of the landscape or the steady beating of the rain — it lasted an entire day. I couldn't recall what day it was; I had forgotten the country. Being on the train had suspended time; the heat and dampness had slowed my memory. What day was it any way?[25]

Theroux's description resembles the symptoms which some travelers have called culture shock, first described in the 1950's by Kalvero Oberg, an anthropologist with the Agency for International Development. He described a condition "brought on by anxiety that results from losing all our familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse." Oberg called it "culture shock," originating the view that it is an affliction. The sufferer rejects the uncomfortable environment and embraces the home environment, which is "irrationally glorified," evoking an intense longing.

The specific symptoms vary, but they are usually associated with threats to the physical, psychological or social welfare of the sufferer; they are dissatisfiers.

> This could be in relation to the drinking water, food, dishes and bedding; fear of physical contact with attendants or servants; a feeling of helplessness and a desire for dependence on long-term residents of one's own nationality; irritation of delays and other minor frustrations, out of proportion to their causes; delay and outright refusal to learn the language of the host country; excessive fear of being cheated, robbed or injured; great concern over minor pains and eruptions of the skin; and finally, that terrible longing to visit one's relatives, and in general, to talk to people who really 'make sense.'[26]

When in culture shock, the sufferer becomes suspicious of host country nationals and provides the conditions to justify his fears; this soon produces a "chain reaction" which consistently adds fuel to the fire and may ultimately inflame out of control. Oberg advises that the way to overcome it is to get to know the people of the host country. He adds that this does not mean discarding one's own cultural identity in favor of that of the host country.

The view of culture shock as an affliction approximates Foster's opinion; he calls it "a mental illness, and as true of much mental illness, the victim usually does not know he is afflicted."[27] Adler recognizes the phenomenon but hesitates to call it "shock"; he prefers to see it as a learning experience in the transition from cultural survival to intercultural comparisons. He writes: "The first stage begins with the excitement and euphoria of foreign travel. The individual is captivated by sights and sounds and sees the new cultural surroundings through the eyes of a tourist. Involvement in local traditions, problems and events is minimal and the victim's knowledge of the area is superficial and textbook. He is more excited by the discovery of cultural similarities than by differences and is primarily concerned with securing his material well-being for the immediate future."[28]

The reference to travel and to cultural similarities places Adler's views in the same orbit as our analysis. The second stage of culture shock which he identifies continues the parallel. Personal, social and cultural differences intrude into the individual's image of self-security, assuming increasing influence in comparison to the preceding interests in cultural similarities.[29] The miseries of culture shock are put behind, and recovery starts, when the individual learns about local tradition and customs. The process speeds up when the individual makes friends, when contemporaries become consociates and strong links are established between the traveler and the people. Then there are some travelers who never experience culture shock, interacting with the people from the beginning.

Oberg's definition of culture shock has probably given the condition a greater objective status than it deserves. When culture shock occurs, we can identify several states. There is an initial period of discovery, the flush of excitement of being in a new society.[30] This is the positive — the "feelings" — aspect of the survival stage. For some, this excitement is a threat, and quickly drowns the individual in a state of shock. For others, the initial excitement may slowly yield to increasing frustration and depression: the culture shock stage. The first six weeks are usually the critical period, although it may vary tremendously. Afterwards the individual enters what might be called the period of intercultural comparisons, which Sill has called *self-alignment*. This takes place within four to eight months.[31] The development process and particularly the transition from stage one (survival) to stage two (intercultural) is highly important. Culture shock should be considered as a learning experience rather than an affliction, though this knowledge does little to reduce its pain. Adler points out that: "the culture shock process, however, is fundamental in that the individual must somehow confront the social-psychological and philosophical discrepancies he finds in his new surroundings as compared to his own cultural props, self-image and understanding. The cross-cultural learning experience is in large part a function of the psycho-social impact, on realizing how behavior, values, attitudes and outlook are based on cultural dispositions."[32]

Culture shock isolates the experience of the traveler; the drama is often enacted on the surface, in terms of survival skills, while the real protagonists — the values, belief systems, moral judgments and systems of logic with which the sufferer must come to grips — lie beneath the surface. Because of this, the sufferer is typically unaware of his own condition. The learning aspect of culture shock involves a sort of self-examination, marked by periods of frustration and depression, and by sallies to the higher plateaus of emotions. The individual is directed not only toward self-examination, but also toward an analysis of his relationships with others, a path of psychological and philosophical search.

Emergence from culture shock is accompanied by an increase in humor; this interesting comment is frequently made. The emergence requires experimentation, role-playing and getting to know host country nationals and their culture. Three kinds of learning emerge from the resolution of culture shock: knowledge of the other culture, knowledge of the individual's own culture, and knowledge of self, the learner. Perhaps "knowledge" is not so appropriate a term as "awareness," meaning more than just a perceptual quality; it includes disposition. It is *consciousness*. The individual learns to legitimize cultural differences, primarily those between his culture and those of the other culture. "The greatest *shock* in culture shock may not be in the encounter with a foreign culture but with the confrontation of one's own culture and the ways in which the individual is culture-bound."[33]

It is true that all individuals are locked into their cultures, and sealed with that culture's stamp, but Adler's interesting conclusion may be more valid for Americans than for members of cultures who readily accept the influence of their own culture on their personal behavior. Because Americans tend to tone down this connection, they become frightened when they grasp the imprint of their own culture during culture shock, and have to acknowledge that they are creatures of culture.

The important implication of culture shock, which our discussions and examples amply illustrate, is that the survival skills do not suffice. Culture shock can be interpreted as the effort of the traveler to force the decline of dissatisfiers, which does not necessarily mean that survival skills have failed. The traveler struggles to attain the satisfiers, to order his life and to work productively. He uses activities of nonverbal images and other experiences to pursue a subjective journey into the nervous system of the culture to find its organizing principles. The surfaces of customs, organization of knowledge and of information, no longer suffice.

We can take the episode of culture shock as a convenient transition from the first to the second stage. Some people crystallize the culture shock and return to their own countries dissatisfied, suspicious and unhappy with the sojourn abroad; on the other hand, they may endure abroad for months or years. Others pass through culture shock with a light tremor, and unobtrusively enter the second stage, called intercultural comparisons.

SUMMARY

Specialists treat intercultural communication as a problem, explaining the diversity of application and theory which has characterized it from the beginning. The crux of the subject refers to the cultural obstacles met by an individual in working and living in another society. Specialists typically offer training as the solution to the problem. Definition of intercultural communication as a problem does not disguise the need to impose some order on the subject, at least to make it accessible to the outsider. The model of a traveler serves to synthesize practice and theory.

The traveler's perspective requires two conditions to attain the objectives of synthesis. First, travel occurs in three stages of survival, comparisons and contrasts. The second condition consists of the treatment of the inner experience of the traveler, a task often better done by the artist than by the social scientist.

Most specialists in intercultural communication conduct training for survival, which yields to an analysis of training objectives attained to diminish dissatisfiers in a strange culture: factors of nonverbal communication, welfare, convenience and physical amenities.

The traveler's perspective of working and living in a strange culture reveals two factors for analysis: intermittent and surface perception, and shallow relationships with consociates. The traveler's role frequently precipitates a conflict between the traveler's own culture and the strange culture. This condition, culture shock, makes up part of the process of learning to perform in and adjust to the strange culture. Resolution of culture shock signals the end of the survival stage and the beginning of the next stage.

The model of the traveler suggests that problematic subjects such as intercultural communication benefit from a chronological development. The perspective accommodates theoretical issues and practical matters, such as the timing of training programs. Part of the exposition uses the writings of a novelist, indicating that the intercultural problem spreads over the arts as well as the social sciences.

NOTES

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INTERPERSONAL PERCEPTIONS IN A SIMULATION GAME OF INTERCULTURAL CONTACT

MARY KENNY BADAMI

The study of mutual interpersonal perceptions of persons in two interacting cultures was undertaken in a laboratory setting using the simulation game *BaFa' BaFa'*. After initial assignment at random to either the Alpha or the Beta culture, participants spent about three hours playing the simulation and completing a "Reactions Questionnaire" prior to a debriefing. The questionnaire measured interpersonal perceptions through 20 semantic differential items, 10 relating to one's own culture and 10 to the other culture. Factor analysis indicated the presence of three independent factors. Seven items comprised an *Activity Contrast* factor describing both cultures in terms of contrasting energy patterns. Four items were related to *Positive Self-Description*, referring to one's own culture exclusively and positively. Four items reflecting an unfavorable view of the other culture were called the *Negative Other-Description*. Multivariate analysis of variance demonstrated that the three factors served to distinguish between members of Alpha and Beta cultures. The findings were seen as demonstrating the importance of distinguishing descriptive from evaluative perceptions categories, and of further differentiating positive and negative evaluations as components of ethnocentrism.

Among the difficulties in establishing viable theories in the area of intercultural communication has been the debate among practitioners and researchers about appropriate methodologies. Despite impatience about the anecdotal nature of evidence offered in support of some theories, empirically oriented researchers have discovered many difficulties in data collection. These difficulties include the long-term nature of many intercultural experiences, the numerous intervening variables presumed to be operating in field settings, the non-random selection or self-selection of subjects, and the lack of mutually verifiable reports from both parties involved in an intercultural encounter. Both the expense and the amount of time required to collect field data with reasonably high reliability and validity have apparently militated against empirical research, which in turn has interfered with theory building.

The major purpose of the present experimental study was to contribute to theory building in the field of intercultural communication by using empirical methodology in a simulation setting to study interpersonal perceptions.[1] Specifically, the study utilized the training game *BaFa' BaFa'* as the stimulus.[2] The decision to study intercultural communication in a laboratory setting, then, would allow empirical measurements to be taken, afford random assignment of subjects to treatments, involve actual interaction among subjects rather than the presentation of a hypothetical situation, and permit collecting reports of mutual perceptions from members of two interacting cultural groups. The focus of the investigation was interpersonal perceptions. The selection of this variable was based on the assumption articulated by other researchers in the field of interpersonal communication, "that people's perceptions of other people determine to a major extent whether there is a communication attempt made, and have a major impact on the results of any communication encounter."[3] The decision to study mutual perceptions was made because most prior studies of stereotyping have involved one group describing a target group, but not the reverse perceptions.[4] Two major research questions evolved: (1) What categories of interpersonal perceptions are reported by persons engaged in intercultural interaction? (2) Can the analysis of reported perceptions distinguish between members of two interacting cultural groups? Success in answering the research questions would also justify the methodological choice of a simulation game in order to study intercultural communication in a laboratory setting.

METHOD

PILOT STUDY

A series of three pilot sessions tested the administrative procedures and time limits of the game, as well as providing preliminary information for the development of dependent variable scales. Participants in the pilot study included 14 undergraduates at Northwestern University, 12 non-university adult volunteers from the Chicago business community, and 24 adult evening students from the University of Wisconsin — Milwaukee. The pilot study, totalling 50 persons from reasonably diverse backgrounds, confirmed that about three hours would be necessary for successful completion of the game, administration of the questionnaire, and debriefing.

SUBJECTS

The main study consisted of eight sessions which were conducted during the fall semester of 1976 at the University of Wisconsin — Milwaukee. Of 269 students who participated as volunteers or during their regular communication course meetings, a total of 263 completed the game and the experimental questionnaire. Of those 263 subjects whose responses were used in the analysis, 135 had been randomly assigned to the Alpha culture and 128 to the Beta culture.

PROCEDURE

Participants met as a group and read an initial statement describing the purpose of the study and their rights as subjects. At this time, they also completed a demographic questionnaire. They played the simulation game *BaFa' BaFa'*, completed a "Reactions Questionnaire" about the game, and participated in a final debriefing.

In the *BaFa' BaFa'* simulation game of intercultural communication, participants are divided into two groups or "cultures," Alpha and Beta, each supervised in a separate room by an administrator. Members of each group learn a set of rules to govern their behavior while in the new culture. The Alpha rules establish a relaxed culture which values personal contact and intimacy, but operates within a sexist and patriarchal structure. The Beta rules establish an aggressive trading culture in which a person's value is measured by accumulating points in a system of barter. Alphans speak English while making friendships in their culture, but Betans must use a special language of gestures and monosyllables to effect their trades. Observers are exchanged between the two cultures, and then all members participate in visits to the other culture. Generally, a group debriefing follows the last round of exchange of visits. In the debriefing, participants describe their impressions of the "foreign" visitors, their guesses about the other culture's rules, and their feelings during the game.

Two major modifications of the standard administration procedures were implemented for this study. First, subjects were randomly assigned to either the Alpha or the Beta culture by drawing an index card from a shuffled deck. The card not only designated them as an Alphan or a Betan, but also assigned them a subject identification number in order to preserve the anonymity of their responses. Second, as soon as the last visits between cultures had taken place, the final questionnaire was administered. Only after subjects had independently completed the questionnaire was the debriefing held. The debriefing served its usual function, to process the events of the game, and also served as a forum to deal with any additional questions about the research study.

Each administration of the game required two supervisors, one for each culture. Colleagues and students of the experimenter served as co-administrators. Each met in one or more 2-hour training sessions with the experimenter. In addition to attending the training sessions, they reviewed the "Director's Manual," received materials to be used in the game, and were given a checklist of procedures for the study.

MEASUREMENT

The independent variable was "culture," i.e., subject assignment either to Alpha or to Beta. Dependent variables were measured using a 73-item "Reactions Questionnaire" (see Table 1 for the complete questionnaire). Twenty semantic differential items relating to "Perceptions" (items 17-36 on the questionnaire) were the basis of the study being reported here.[5] The "Perceptions" variables consisted of ten items designed to measure a subject's perceptions of his or her own culture as well as those same ten items, in different order, measuring the subject's perceptions of the other culture.

MANIPULATION CHECK

It was necessary to test whether Alphans had indeed perceived their culture as friendly and cooperative, and Betans their culture as aggressive and competitive. In response to an item concerning perceptions of their own culture, 67% of the Alphans judged their culture as highly cooperative, while 80% of the Betans judged their culture as highly competitive. On the basis of this information, it was decided that the experimental manipulation had been successful. As an additional type of validity check, one question measured whether subjects had exhibited a reasonable degree of participation. Over 83% of the subjects responded at the upper end of the scale on the item measuring whether they had gotten "into the spirit of the game."

TABLE 1

REACTIONS QUESTIONNAIRE

NOTE: Items 1-16 offered the following options:
Extremely/ Somewhat/ Neutral or Unsure/ Not very much/ Not at all

1. How similar to you and your culture are the people in the other culture?
2. How well do you understand them?
3. Do you like them?
4. How well informed are you about them?
5. How great a degree of personal contact did you have with them?
6. Were you contented at the end of your visit?
7. Would you be eager to visit their culture again?
8. How successful do you think you would be in another visit to their culture?
9. Was your visit difficult?
10. ... informative?
11. ... unpleasant?
12. ... confusing?
13. ... successful?
14. ... bad?
15. ... characterized by mutual understanding?
16. ... disappointing?

NOTE: Items 17-36 were semantic differential polar choices

YOUR CULTURE
17. friendly. .... unfriendly
18. competitive. .... cooperative
19. aggressive. .... peaceful
20. relaxed. .... tense
21. strong. .... weak
22. prejudiced. .... fair
23. active. .... passive
24. like the U.S.A. .... unlike the U.S.A.
25. kind. .... cruel
26. good. .... bad

THEIR CULTURE
27. cooperative. .... competitive
28. tense. .... relaxed
29. fair. .... prejudiced
30. unlike the U.S.A. .... like the U.S.A.
31. bad. .... good
32. unfriendly. .... friendly
33. peaceful. .... aggressive
34. weak. .... strong
35. passive. .... active
36. cruel. .... kind

NOTE: Items 37-68 offered the following options:
Strongly agree/ Agree/ Neutral or Unsure/ Disagree/ Strongly disagree

37. Overall, I am satisfied with my visit to their culture.
38. My culture and I are quite different from the other culture.
39. I know very little about the other culture.
40. I interacted a great deal with the people in the other culture.
41. The people in the other culture are quite likeable.
42. I was able to figure out what was going on in their culture.
43. I made a good impression during my visit.
44. I met quite a few people from the other culture.
45. I do not really understand the people in the other culture.
46. I didn't enjoy my visit to their culture.
47. I would want many facts about the other culture before another visit.
48. I would rather not visit their culture again.
49. I found their behavior quite predictable.
50. I felt I had established a sense of communication with them.
51. My visit there was exciting.
52. Despite our superficial differences, there are basic underlying similarities in our two cultures.
53. I find the other culture's people to be attractive human beings.
54. I felt a sense of achievement when I finished dealing with them.
55. At this point I have considerable information about them.
56. My visit to their culture was fun.
57. I would go to another round of visits with enthusiasm.
58. We and they have almost nothing in common.
59. My visit to their culture did not go very well.
60. I dislike the people in the other culture.
61. My visit was easy.
62. My visit was uninformative.
63. My visit was pleasant.
64. My visit was unsuccessful.
65. My visit was clear.
66. My visit was lacking communication.
67. My visit was without mutual understanding.
68. My visit was good.

69. If there were one more round, would you rather spend it staying in your own culture or visiting the other one?
own culture:____:____:____:____:____:other culture
70. To what extent did you feel yourself getting into the spirit of the game?
very much:____:____:____:____:____:not at all
71. If you had a choice of a culture to be in permanently, which culture would you choose? ALPHA BETA
72. Write in the number of persons from their culture that you talked to and/or had dealings with during your visit:_______.
73. Write in your final score if you are a Betan:_______.

RESULTS

FACTOR ANALYSIS

The 20-item Perceptions Scale was submitted to principal components analysis with one as an estimate of the communality. Cattell's Scree Test on the eigenvalues suggested the presence of three independent factors, accounting for 44.5% of the variance. On the basis of the principal components analysis, it was decided to utilize a principal axis factor analysis and to generate a three-factor solution through the Kaiser varimax rotation. Items with a value of .40 or higher were considered to be loading meaningfully on a factor. Table 2 reports the items loading on the three factors and their secondary loadings. Item-total correlations and Cronbach's Alpha as a measure of reliability were calculated for each of the scales. It was determined not to retain an item unless the item-total correlation was .50 or above. No item that loaded .40 or more in the factor analysis had an item-total correlation less than .55, and most item-total correlations were above .70. Thus, no items were dropped from the subscales.

The first factor consists of seven items concerning perceptions of both one's own and the other culture; it was labeled *Activity Contrast* since the basis of the comparison was a set of constructs relating to energy. The second factor refers exclusively to one's own culture as good and valuable; it was named *Positive Self-Description*. The third factor consists of four items reflecting an unfavorable view of the other culture; therefore it was called *Negative Other-Description*. The three subscales proved to be internally consistent according to Cronbach's Alpha, with reliability estimates of .82, .78, and .73, respectively.

TABLE 2

FACTOR LOADINGS OF QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS ON THREE PERCEPTIONS SCALES

PERCEPTIONS SCALES	FACTOR I	II	III
Activity Contrast (Cronbach's Alpha: .82)			
Your Culture: competitive/cooperative	.60	–.45	.03
Your Culture: aggressive/peaceful	.51	.49	.05
Your Culture: active/passive	.47	–.05	–.01
Their Culture: cooperative/competitive	.55	–.20	–.29
Their Culture: tense/relaxed	–.66	.17	.20
Their Culture: peaceful/aggressive	.67	–.05	–.17
Their Culture: passive/active	.62	–.16	.06
Positive Self-Description (Cronbach's Alpha: .78)			
Your Culture: friendly/unfriendly	–.18	.64	.04
Your Culture: relaxed/tense	–.38	.59	–.01
Your Culture: kind/cruel	–.13	.82	.15
Your Culture: good/bad	–.05	.63	.26
Negative Other-Description (Cronbach's Alpha: .73)			
Their Culture: fair/prejudiced	.03	–.01	–.57
Their Culture: bad/good	.23	.04	.69
Their Culture: unfriendly/friendly	–.33	.05	.60
Their Culture: cruel/kind	–.20	.02	.69

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

Since three dependent variables related to perceptions had emerged in the factor analysis, it was decided to utilize multivariate statistical analysis techniques in hypothesis testing. Multivariate analysis (MVA) extends the usual univariate model to include more than one dependent variable. As Monge and Day point out in their review article on MVA, it "provides the communication scientist with a set of techniques which is capable of capturing a far greater degree of complexity than alternative procedures. Specifically, among other advantages, MVA permits the simultaneous examination of multiple dependent variables in addition to multiple independent variables."[6] The test of the second research question, whether reported perceptions will distinguish between members of two interacting cultural groups, was accomplished by the overall multivariate test of the equality of mean vectors, $F(3, 259) = 80.59$, $p < .0001$. The outcome indicates that there are significant differences between the perceptions of the Alphans and the Betans. Table 3 reports the observed cell means and other statistics for Alpha and Beta and for both cultures combined, on the three perceptions subscales.

TABLE 3

OBSERVED CELL MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS (MULTIVARIATE ANOVA) FOR THE THREE PERCEPTIONS SCALES

Culture	Activity Contrast[a]	Positive Self-Description[b]	Negative Other-Description[c]
Alpha (n=135)	17.04 (4.71)	17.75 (2.47)	13.28 (3.03)
Beta (n=128)	25.56 (5.12)	14.39 (3.36)	12.51 (3.93)
Combined (n=263)	20.75 (6.88)	16.14 (3.37)	12.92 (3.50)

[a] Potential range: 7-35, midpoint 21

[b] Potential range: 4-20, midpoint 12

[c] Potential range: 4-20, midpoint 12

Inspection of the univariate F values for the three perceptions subscales shows the strongest differences to exist in the area of Activity Contrast, with Alphans perceiving themselves as low on activity and perceiving the Betans to be high, while the converse is true of Betan perceptions. That difference is statistically significant, $F(1, 261) = 197.37$, $p < .0001$. There is also a difference in the degree of Positive Self-Description. Both cultures see themselves as essentially good; however, Alphans see themselves as considerably better than Betans see themselves, $F(1, 261) = 86.00$, $p < .0001$. On the four items representing Negative Other-Description, however, persons in both cultures judge the others to be about equally bad. The difference is not significant, $F(1, 261) = 3.22, p < .07$.

As an additional assessment of positive feelings for one's own culture and negative feelings for the other culture, participants were asked, "If you had a choice of a culture to be in permanently, which culture would you choose?" Responses to that question were analyzed using a chi-square matrix. Table 4 presents that analysis, indicating that Alphans overwhelmingly would prefer to stay in Alpha, and Betans would prefer to stay in Beta by a 2-to-1 margin.

TABLE 4

MATRIX OF RESPONSES TO "CHOICE" QUESTION

Response Category	Assigned to Alpha	Assigned to Beta	Total
Would Choose Alpha	118	41	159
Would Choose Beta	12	82	94
Total	130	123	253
Missing data = 10			
$X^2 = 89.3$, $p < .05$			

DISCUSSION

The factor analysis indicated the existence of three different components in the perception of contrasting cultures: a descriptive aspect, a positive evaluative aspect, and a negative evaluative aspect. In the present study, the descriptive function consists of the Activity Contrast category which refers to both cultures in contrast to one another on the dimension of energy. The two evaluative factors which emerged appear to be separate parts of the overall construct of ethnocentrism: a positive description of one's own culture and a negative description of the other. The theoretical importance of separating the measurement of liking of home culture from dislike of the other culture was borne out by the statistical analysis, which showed that the degree of dislike of the other culture was not as extreme as the liking of one's own culture. Further, the liking for one's own culture (Positive Self-Description) distinguished the Alphans from the Betans in the multivariate analysis of variance, as the dislike of the other culture (Negative Other-Description) did not.

The emergence of the two evaluative variables also suggests that ethnocentrism is a "normal" component of human behavior rather than an extreme or an aberration. Ethnocentrism appears to be an inevitable consequence of group identity, judging from the strong ethnocentrism which was induced during the 3-hour game. In terms of training applications, the scores on this variable suggest strong barriers to the development of the culturally relativistic "multicultural person" which Adler has proposed, or the effort to go "beyond culture" urged by Hall.[7]

The univariate F value for the Activity Contrast variable was significant, indicating that Alphans and Betans distinguish their respective cultures from one another in mutually consistent ways. However, the F values for the two evaluative variables require further explanation. There was no statistically significant difference on Negative Other-Description; Alphans see Beta approximately as negatively as Betans see Alpha. But there was a difference in Positive Self-Description, with Alpha being judged as the better culture. Additional evidence of that difference was found in the dichotomous "Choice" question whose results are reported in Table 4. Fewer than 10% of Alphans would choose to become Betans, while precisely one-third of Betans would become Alphans. What, then, leads respondents to prefer Alpha so strongly? In the pilot study that "Choice" question included room for an essay explaining the choice. Those answers suggest two possible explanations for the overall preference for the Alpha culture. When subjects were asked to explain in their own words their preference for one culture over another, two reasons often emerged: many people liked the cooperative atmosphere in Alpha, and many people disliked the language barriers created by the limited Beta language.

The importance of these findings to developing theories about intercultural communication rests primarily on the separation of the two evaluative factors in perception. The study indicates that ethnocentrism is not a unitary construct, but has at least two separate components, the positive valuing of one's own culture and the negative valuing of the other culture. Further work with the tripartite perceptions variables identified in this study (description, positive self-evaluation, negative other-evaluation) would be desirable.

The study has indicated the usefulness of this simulation technique as an efficient way to gather laboratory data about intercultural contacts. Clearly, in the area of group dynamics, the small group laboratory experience has been a useful means of gathering data on decision-making, leadership, interpersonal conflict, and other communication variables. Similarly some intercultural researchers may find it profitable to choose to study communication variables in the structured environment of a laboratory experiment. This is not to argue for the abandonment of field research, but rather for using the laboratory experiment to add to field research findings and to seek to verify speculations as yet untested in either laboratory or field. The judicious use of multiple methodologies will strengthen theory building as it adds to the data base of the field. Nor is this a plea for single-variable studies. While single-variable studies may be useful steps of a programmatic research approach, multivariate statistical measures can facilitate sophisticated work with multiple variables and models of causation in a laboratory setting.

The findings of this study relate to previous work done in group dynamics and indicate the need for a theoretical synthesis with the small group work on cooperation and competition. The Alpha culture is characterized by cooperation, and the Beta culture by competition. In the findings of this study, it was clear that subjects much prefer the cooperative Alpha culture over the competitive Beta culture. Further analysis and research on the nature of cooperation and competition would strengthen future work with the *BaFa' BaFa'* simulation game.

The format of the study has advantages that were briefly alluded to in the introduction to this paper. The game offers a real, if brief, actual interaction, not simply a hypothetical situation presented to a subject. Further, if we agree that the defining characteristic of an intercultural encounter is the perception of similarities and differences of oneself and of persons from another background, then the decision to study mutual perceptions should be important in our work. Similar studies of mutual perceptions should be done with a variety of simulated and real cultures in order to establish the critical dimensions on which they differ, much as Triandis and his associates have worked out methods to study the ways that members of different cultures conceptualize particular constructs.[8]

There are some limitations to the design of this study. The cultures created in *BaFa' BaFa'* are synthetic cultures, newly available to the participants. Although the rules of the game include an admonition that "The rules of the culture must not be told to strangers," this rule is not truly analogous to the situation where in real life, for the most part, the rules of one's own culture are invisible and unavailable to consciousness. In one sense it may be argued that Alpha and Beta are foreign to the participant's own culture; in the case of the present study, American (U.S.) culture patterns. And yet on the other hand, one can see within U.S. society elements of both Alpha and Beta. The further use of the game should address the question of the relationship of the artificial cultures to the culture of the participants, and the question of what effects that may have on the playing of the game and on the findings of studies such as this one. The time limits for interaction are also problematic. This was a study of initial interaction in an intercultural setting, not reflective of the development of perceptions over time. The methodology is insufficient for studies of long-term development of attitudes and behavior patterns in intercultural settings. The subjects for the study were Americans, primarily from a midwest college environment. It will be important to test the findings of the present study using respondents from other national and culture groups, including non-university settings, if we intend to generalize these findings toward building non-ethnocentric theories of intercultural communication.

Additional refinement of the questionnaire will also be important in future work with these concepts. In particular, subjects raised the question during the debriefing about their problems in categorizing "your culture" and "their culture," since it was clear to many of them that their culture was different in isolation than when visitors were present, and that the cultures did undergo some changes during the 3-hour playing of the game. That explanation was especially important in understanding why Alphans had described their culture in the manipulation check as somewhat less "cooperative" than Betans had described their culture as "competitive." Some Alphans felt that once the visitors entered the room, their culture became more cooperative among themselves but not in regard to the visitors. Future questionnaire construction should clarify whether the questions refer to the culture in isolation at the start of the game, the culture during visitor contact, or the culture as it evolved by the end of the game. This does not appear to be an inherent limitation of the game, since in this case the cultures do change over a period of time, as do real-life cultures. The issue here is to ask precise questions so that the categories are not confused.

Although *BaFa' BaFa'* has found wide acceptance as a training game, it has rarely been reported as the subject of research studies. A number of other research uses of the game beyond the present study can be proposed. Lashutka has used performance in the game as a predictor of future behavior in a subsequent intercultural contact, and other studies are in preparation.[9]

SUMMARY

The simulation game *BaFa' BaFa'* was used as a synthetic cultural contact situation to study interpersonal perceptions in a laboratory experiment. The findings included a discovery of three components of perceptions: description, positive self-description, and negative other-description. Multivariate analysis of variance demonstrated significant differences in the perceptions of the two cultures, Alpha and Beta, which were created through the game instructions. It was suggested that this procedure offers a useful addition to other methodologies used to study intercultural communication, and that further laboratory experiments, including ones using *BaFa' BaFa'*, should be conducted.

NOTES

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[1] This report is adapted from the author's dissertation, "Interpersonal Perceptions and Outcomes of Communication in a Simulation Game of Intercultural Contact" (Northwestern University, 1977) directed by Charles R. Berger. The assistance of Mary Anne Fitzpatrick in preparing this article is gratefully acknowledged.

[2] *BaFa' BaFa': A Cross Culture Simulation* was prepared for the Navy Personnel Research and Development Center, San Diego, CA, by R. Garry Shirts of SIMILE II. This study used the first edition of the simulation game. A revised edition, copyright 1977, is available from SIMILE II, 218 Twelfth Street, P.O. Box 910, Del Mar, CA 92014.

[3] James C. McCroskey, Virginia P. Richmond, and John Daly, "The Development of a Measure of Perceived Homophily in Interpersonal Communication," *Human Communication Research*, 1 (1975), 323-332.

[4] Compare, for example, the classic study of Katz and Braly to the efforts of Rich and Ogawa. The former was a one-way study of stereotyping; the latter two studies were of two-way stereotyping. See D. Katz and K. W. Braly, "Stereotypes of 100 College

Students," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 28 (1933) 280-290; studies by Rich, and Ogawa, cited in Andrea Rich, *Interracial Communication* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), pp. 51-61.

[5] Other questionnaire items were used in separate studies. The full report of those findings can be found in the author's dissertation cited in note 1.

[6] Peter R. Monge and Patrick D. Day, "Multivariate Analysis in Communication Research," *Human Communication Research*, 2 (1976), 207-220. See also Jeremy D. Finn, *A. General Model for Multivariate Analysis* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974).

[7] Peter S. Adler, "Beyond Cultural Identity: Reflections on Cultural and Multicultural Man," in Larry A. Samovar and Richard E. Porter, *Intercultural Communication: A Reader*, 2nd ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1976), pp. 362-377; Edward T. Hall, *Beyond Culture* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977).

[8] Harry C. Triandis, V. and G. Vassiliow, Y. Tanaka, and A. V. Shanmugam, *The Analysis of Subjective Culture* (New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1972).

[9] Sergius Lashutka, "A Correlative Study of a Simulated Cross-Cultural Experience in Predicting Cross-Cultural Adjustment," Master's Thesis, University of California-Berkeley, 1976. A dissertation is presently being planned using *BaFa' BaFa'* by Andy Smith, University of Denver, Center for Teaching International Relations; a master's thesis relating to its training function has been proposed by Domenica Gilardi, University of Wisconsin — Milwaukee, Dept. of Communication.

TRANSITION SHOCK: PUTTING CULTURE SHOCK IN PERSPECTIVE

JANET BENNETT

When we experience periods of life transition, we often feel our world view has been assaulted because of the threat inherent in change. When this threat elicits defense mechanisms, we find ourselves in a state of transition shock. Transition shock may be defined as a state of loss and disorientation we experience during any change in our familiar environment which requires adjustment. Culture shock, as a subcategory of transition shock, can be more easily recognized and resolved when individuals reference their previous experience with other life-change situations. By viewing transition shock as a challenging opportunity to examine communication patterns and increase personal flexibility, the "shock" can be channeled into personal development.

One of the difficulties in considering culture shock is the tendency to treat it as an exotic ailment, with origins rooted in faraway places. In fact, culture shock bears a remarkable resemblance to tensions and anxieties we face whenever change threatens the stability of our lives. Alvin Toffler has described the phenomenon of disruptive change within a culture as "future shock."[1] Gail Sheehy has focused on the painful crises in individual life cycles, in what we might term "passage shock."[2] These and other forms of "shock" (including culture shock) might be subsumed by the general category *transition shock*. This paper will relate various concepts of culture shock to the general category of transition shock, and will suggest how this frame of reference is useful in understanding the causes, effects, and coping mechanisms of culture shock.

The expression "culture shock" was popularized by Kalvero Oberg to refer to the "anxiety that results from losing all of our familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse."[3] Edward T. Hall suggested the added dimension of replacement of the familiar cues with new strange elements.[4] According to Peter Adler, "culture shock is primarily a set of emotional reactions to the loss of perceptual reinforcements from one's own culture, to new cultural stimuli which have little or no meaning, and to the misunderstanding of new and diverse experiences."[5] LaRay Barna broadens the concept to include physiological aspects: "culture shock ... the emotional and physiological reaction of high activation that is brought about by sudden immersion in a new and different culture."[6]

I would like to go one step further and suggest that culture shock is in itself only a subcategory of transition experiences. All such experiences involve loss and change: the loss of a partner in death or divorce; change of life-style related to passages; loss of a familiar frame of reference in an intercultural encounter; or, change of values associated with rapid social innovation. The reaction to loss and change is frequently "shocking" in terms of grief, disorientation, and the necessity for adjustment: "... a similar process of adjustment should work itself out whenever the familiar pattern of life has been disrupted. For once the predictability of events has been invalidated — whether from the collapse of the internal structure of purpose or of our ability to comprehend the environment — life will be unmanageable until the continuity of meaning can be restored, through a process of abstraction and redefinition. ... Even changes which we scarcely think to involve loss may be analysable in similar terms."[7] Our adaptive processes fail to meet the needs of the moment and we find ourselves overwhelmed by the stimuli we are forced to assimilate. Therefore the definition of transition shock I would suggest is: a state of loss and disorientation precipitated by a change in one's familiar environment which requires adjustment. Culture shock may be characterized as a transition shock in the context of an alien cultural frame of reference. This experience may be linked to visiting another country, or within a subculture of this country. The important factor in considering this issue is that culture shock, as a subcategory of transition experiences, is more recognizable, more understandable, even more tolerable, when viewed in the light of previous life experiences.

The fruitfulness of this perspective lies in the potential that we each have some previous experience with the elements of culture shock. Perhaps we have not experienced all the elements, perhaps not in the same form, but nevertheless the similarities may provide us with confidence that we are not entirely without resources, since we have experienced life-change before, if only in the form of change of residence, marriage, etc. The mere idea that culture shock is not an alien feeling can give us the confidence that we have the ability to resolve it comfortably.

SYMPTOMS

While we may each have had some experiences of transition shock, it appears to be a different reaction for different people in different places at different times. The symptoms vary from case to case, as the virtual infinity of variables interact to create impact on us. Time and space, place and person, create a unique chemistry and a personalized reaction. Some of the symptoms suggested by various authors (Oberg,[8] Foster,[9] Adler[10]) include: excessive concern over cleanliness and health; feelings of helplessness and withdrawal; irritability; fear of being cheated, robbed, or injured; a glazed stare; desire for home and old friends; and physiological stress reactions. We are essentially in a state of frustration, anxiety, and paranoia induced by the unfamiliar environment in which we find ourselves. Marris neatly describes this state of ambiguity common to transition experiences: "... some common features [of change]: the need to reestablish continuity, to work out an interpretation of oneself and the world which preserves, despite estrangement, the thread of meaning; the ambivalence of this task as it swings between conflicting impulses; the need to articulate the stages of its resolution; and the risk of lasting disintegration if the process is not worked out."[11]

Transition shock often leads to communication problems as well. When we are anxious, lonely, and disoriented, our communication skills degenerate. Isolation and tension are exacerbated, producing blockages and defensive communication. In the intercultural context, disorientation is particularly lethal, for it only serves to further isolate us from our environment. We block out the new forms and styles of communication available to us, in order to preserve the old. Culture shock is thus a major obstruction in intercultural communication.

RESPONSES

Frequently, as a reaction to such change, culture shock takes the form of psychic withdrawal. One of the nearly universal aspects of transition experiences is cognitive inconsistency: what once was a coherent, internally consistent set of beliefs and values is suddenly overturned by exterior change. One of those values, self-preservation (or psychological stability), is called into serious question unless an alteration is made in our entire value system. Transition shock — and culture shock — may be viewed as defense mechanisms in reaction to cognitive inconsistency. If, as Dean Barnlund suggests, people become defensive when they perceive a threat to their world view, then what greater situation of threat exists than immersion in an alien culture?[12] Barnlund describes the increasing level of stress which results as the threat to world view increases: "As the perceived threat increases, they narrow their vision, resist certain kinds of information, distort details to fit their own biases, even manufacture evidence to bolster their preconceptions. The old, whether appropriate or not, is favored over the new. Anxiety is aroused when a person ... confronts perceptions that are beyond his capacity to assimilate."[13]

This situation of threat may be perceived as a case of cognitive inconsistency. We arrive overseas with a well-established hierarchy of assumptions, values, and beliefs. The chances are excellent that we will be in an environment where things may look familiar, but they don't operate in familiar ways. Indeed, perhaps nothing will even look familiar! In either case, world view, including our view of ourselves, is assailed by both verbal and nonverbal, as well as physical and psychological stimuli. If we cling to our own world view, we may experience an untenable state of cognitive inconsistency: "either they're crazy, or I am!" At one and the same time, we value our old belief system as well as adaptation to the new; we seek a way to survive within our former world view, and yet recognize the necessity for a new perspective. Often two very contradictory systems vie for equal time. All we have held sacred is reflected in a distortion mirror and the image flashed back throws us off balance, a sort of cultural fun-house where previous orientations contribute little or nothing to the survival of the psyche.

We all depend to a certain extent on the norms of our environment, norms which we have cultivated carefully in our socialization process. Suddenly, in another culture that careful cultivation goes to seed and the neat systems of categories which arranged our lives go askew. Dissonance is exacerbated by the loss of familiar cues, as well as the distortion of seemingly familiar responses. Previously high expectations of exotic overseas life have been crushed, causing us to question the decision to embark on this adventure. In short, all that we once held true is called into question, and daily life becomes an endless round of attempting to achieve balance in this incongruous world. The first reaction is to fight for the survival of our world view and to rescue it by reaching for our defenses. The only defenses we have are those from our own culture, defenses which are rarely helpful in the new culture. Our sense of alienation increases as our defense mechanisms drive us further from understanding the culture. The old frame of reference doesn't help in the least, but it's all we have, so we protect it furiously. Perhaps in doing so, we prolong culture shock and delay the acquisition of a new frame of reference.

It is important to note here that it is not merely the loss of the frame of reference that causes culture shock, but the defensiveness that such a loss engenders. It is not merely "not knowing what to do," but it is more a case of not being *able* to do what one has come to value doing. Recognition of the inappropriateness of our responses arouses tremendous inconsistency; we choose to deal with this dissonance by defending the familiar world view, and we find ourselves deep in the throes of culture shock.

STAGES

If we can overcome a tremendous desire to flee this discomfort, we may recognize several stages which may be familiar from other previous transition experiences which we have survived. While several authors deal with various phases in transition shock, the U.S. Navy's presentation of Clyde Sergeant's model is representative.[14] Four phases of the psychological aspects of environmental adjustment are suggested: fight, flight, filter, and flex. The model outlines an exploratory phase in which the initial impact of immersing ourselves in another culture occurs. During this period of recognizing that our world view is dissonant in a new culture, we move from early enthusiasm and high expectations to a "fight" stance, where self-protective mechanisms are engaged. Moving from the exploratory to the crisis phase, we become discouraged, bewildered, withdrawn, and may choose "flight" as the most effective defense mechanism available. During the recovery and adjustment phase, we resolve our incongruous perspectives, lower defenses, and absorb new stimuli ("filter"). Finally, we reach the accomodation phase where we give up defending our world view and "flex" in our perspective on the new environment.

This particular flex does not imply a surrender of world view, but rather suggests a variety of adaptations which may be employed to reduce dissonance in the new culture. Draguns discusses Taft's research in this area which identified three varieties of adaptation.[15] The *monistic* adaptation will lead us to either "go native" and to submerge ourselves in the host culture, or cause us to retreat to the safety of our fellow countrymen in residence. If we choose the *pluralistic* adaptation, we will both maintain our own culture and assimilate the host culture, becoming bicultural. Using the *interactionist* adaptation, we choose portions of both cultures and become a mixture of each.

RESOLUTIONS

The "flex" response is based on several personality characteristics which aid us in resolving the conflicts more quickly and comfortably in the new environment. These characteristics include self-awareness, non-evaluativeness, cognitive complexity, and cultural empathy. During any transition experience, the quandary is frequently: "Who am I?" There is a loss of continuity in one's purpose and direction, and this continuity must be reestablished to overcome the resulting sense of alienation. The individual who is most likely to master this situation is the one who has a firm sense of self-identity. Draguns notes: "To the degree that one's identity is crystallized and independent, many jolts from the encounters with a new, confusing social reality can be absorbed."[16]

In the culture shock experience, we must be very attuned to our own cultural values and beliefs, so that the contrast culture is more evidently understandable. If we understand our own assumptions, then the elements of the new environment stand out in clear relief for us to examine. As LaRay Barna suggested: "(If you) become secure in your own identity ... there is little chance for serious loss of self-esteem and more freedom for open investigation."[17]

However, I would suggest that a strong sense of identity could also be a hindrance if we are inflexible and become threatened too quickly by conflicting stimuli. Awareness of our own culture needs to be held in an atmosphere of non-evaluativeness where we can easily separate what we see from our interpretation and evaluation of that event. If we enter each interaction in the host culture with evaluation as our first choice of communicative style, our culture shock will be maximal. Among the first skills we need to develop are the abilities to withhold evaluation, to refrain from cultural absolutism, to accept rather than reject. As Arensberg and Niehoff describe it: "... the newcomer purposefully pushes ahead and bends all efforts to understand the other system. The new ways will become familiar and even comfortable only by coming back to them again and again, seeking understanding without applying the values of one's own culture."[18]

This non-evaluative characteristic is a prerequisite for the development of cultural empathy. Empathy may be defined as the use of imagination to intellectually and emotionally participate in an alien experience.[19] Often people discuss empathy in terms of "putting yourself in the other person's shoes." But such a simple shift in position without an equal shift in personal perspective merely elicits a sympathetic response. From such a view, we know how *we* would feel in the situation, but not how the other person feels. To achieve an empathic response, we must not only step into the other person's shoes, but we must imaginatively participate in the other's world view. We must not only shift our *position* but also our *perspective* on the event. This is an essential difference in the cultural context, for very rarely do sympathetic responses prove insightful across cultural boundaries. We need to briefly suspend our world view and to participate as deeply as we can in the view of the other culture. According to a study at the University of Alberta, the "culturally insensitive individual, contrary to a pervasive myth, was revealed as the individual who believed that 'people are about the same everywhere'." This sympathetic response is inadequate to bridge the cultural gap, and the study concluded that "culturally sensitive workers were those who evidence cultural empathy."[20] As cultural empathy aids communication in intercultural transitions, empathy in general should facilitate adaptation to all transition experiences.

The final personal correlate of successful adaptation to another culture may well be "cultural complexity" which is defined by Draguns as "the number of descriptive and explanatory notions at one's disposal for the ability to make sense of and to integrate into a preexisting cognitive structure, discrepant, incongruous and surprising bits of information."[21] He suggests that those who thrive on complexity and ambiguity are more likely to deal with the confusion of the transition experience comfortably. Exposure to a variety of cultures and world views helps us to tolerate differences more easily. We find the new culture stimulating and challenging, rather than threatening and anxiety-producing.

POTENTIALS

The potential for stimulation and challenge is as much a part of culture shock and transition shock as is the potential for discomfort and disorientation. As Marris suggests, "Change appears as fulfillment or as loss to different people, and to the same person at different times."[22] Culture shock need not be viewed as a disease; depending on the way we direct our change processes, it may be exceedingly growth-producing. While few writers deal with culture shock in terms of personal growth, Peter Adler attempts to offer that perspective. He writes: "cross-cultural learning experience ... is a set of intensive and evocative situations in which the individual experiences himself and other people in a new way distinct from previous situations and is consequently forced into new levels of consciousness a[illegible] understanding."[23]

Just as other life-change experiences often force us to examine our identities and adaptability, culture shock can also be perceived as a highly provocative state in which we may direct our energies toward personal development. We are forced into greater self-awareness by the need for introspection; we must reexamine our ability to form relationships and our skills in communication. We are also placed in the position of trying new norms and values, of experimenting with new behaviors. During transition experiences, analytic processes are often in high gear, drawing on an unlimited wealth of diversity for comparison and contrast.

While I have suggested earlier that self-awareness and cultural empathy are significant personal characteristics in the adaptation process, it should also be noted that those characteristics may very well be *developed* during the cross-cultural learning process. Perhaps the greatest degree of shock in the cultural transition experience can be related to the recognition of our own values and beliefs in the light of the new environment.

SUMMARY

It is evident that the culture shock experience is not necessarily an alien one; we may have had similar transition experiences in our lives before exposure to another culture, in any number of intracultural situations. If we recognize transition shock as a defensive response to the dissonance we feel when our world view is assaulted, we can learn to cope with the symptoms and develop methods of channeling shock — including culture shock — into personal growth. By knowledge gained from those previous transitions plus the personal characteristics of self-awareness, non-evaluativeness, cultural empathy, and cultural complexity, we can transform the defensiveness into stimulating cross-cultural learning. How we deal with change affects our communication patterns. Perceived as disorientation, change may produce blockages and defensive communication. Perceived as challenge, change can stimulate creativity and provisional communication.

NOTES

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INTER-ETHNIC AND INTRA-ETHNIC COMMUNICATION: A STUDY OF KOREAN IMMIGRANTS IN CHICAGO

YOUNG YUN KIM

This study explores foreign immigrants' communication patterns through a survey of 400 randomly selected Koreans in the Chicago area. The immigrant's communication patterns were examined by comparing inter-ethnic communication with members of the host society and intra-ethnic communication with Koreans. Interpersonal relationships on four levels of intimacy — organizational membership, acquaintances, friends and intimate friends — were used as indicators of communication involvement. Trends in the communication patterns were traced through cross-sectional comparisons of six subgroups with different lengths of stay in the United States. The results showed: (1) simultaneous increase in the immigrant's inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic communication over time, and (2) change from relatively ethnic and homogeneous friendship circles to heterogenous ones. The study also found that immigrants' English competency, acculturation motivation, and interpersonal interaction potential were significantly related to their inter-ethnic communication. The paper concludes with some new insights into immigrants' inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic communication patterns in the process of acculturation.

Since the 1950's, research has examined the role of interpersonal communication in the process of acculturation.[1] Spindler and Goldschmidt, for example, included "group orientations and interactions" as part of the criteria for determining the degree of acculturation among Menominee Indians.[2] Kim has reported that the degree of an immigrant's participation in the host communication channels significantly influences the level of refinement in perceiving the host society.[3] Many other studies of foreign students, visitors, and immigrants, have also provided empirical support for the positive relationship between the number of American friends and positive attitudes toward the host society or perceptual change.[4] On the other hand, the role of intra-ethnic communication, i.e., communication of immigrants in their own ethnic community, is not clear. There are a few studies which tend to view intra-ethnic communication as promoting ethnic identity rather than playing an integrating role in the host society. Shibutani and Kwan, for instance, indicated an adverse effect of intra-ethnic communication on acculturation. They stated that "... to the extent that ... a minority group participated in different sets of communication channels, they develop different perspectives and have difficulty in understanding each other."[5] Lazerwitz found a high correlation between the high "Jewish identification" group and the number of the group's close friends among Jews. He also reported that those Jews in the highly ethnic identified group were much more active in Jewish organizations than those in the unidentified group. In a qualitative analysis of a Japanese-American community, Broom and Kitsuse argued that: "A large part of the acculturation experience of the members of an ethnic group may be circumscribed by the ethnic community. Such experience ... may have the long-run effect of retarding the validation of acculturation and the eventual assimilation of many members of the group."[7] Such a view of intra-ethnic communication seems to be an overly simplified one, since it is based on an assumption that an immigrant's involvement in the ethnic community is in direct conflict with the involvement in the host society. This assumption, however, has not been validated empirically; few studies have examined the relationship between intra-ethnic communication and inter-ethnic communication by comparing the same immigrants' involvement with both groups. Further, in previous studies, communication was examined only in terms of the overall volume of interpersonal relationships without discriminating different levels of intimacy.

An immigrant's involvement with members of the host society may be affected by the intra-ethnic involvement (or vice versa) on one level of interpersonal relationship, but not on another level. For instance, the number of a Korean immigrant's intimate friends among Koreans may be reduced as more Americans become close friends. On the other hand, the person may be equally active in his or her involvement with both Koreans and Americans on more casual levels of friendship.

Another factor that needs to be considered in studying intra-ethnic communication patterns of foreign immigrants is the change in American society in recent years toward a greater emphasis on preserving the ethnicity of minorities. The earlier "melting-pot" theory has been challenged by such later views as "ethnicity for all," "stabilized acculturation," or "structural pluralism."[8] Although slightly different from each other in emphasis, these new views share a common preference for allowing an ethnic group to remain as: "... a large subsociety, crisscrossed by social class, and continuing in its own primary groups of families, cliques and association — its own network of organizations and institutions — in other words as a highly structured community within the boundaries of which an individual may, if he wishes, carry out most of his more meaningful life activities from the cradle to the grave."[9] This trend toward greater cultural and social independence of minorities is reflected in current development of bilingual and bicultural educational programs in schools.

How this recent social trend has affected the ethnic individual's intercultural communication with members of the host society is unknown as yet. Thus, the present study explores (1) the "natural"[10] process of change in immigrants' participation in interpersonal communication with members of the host society in relation to their communication with members of their own ethnic community, and (2) some factors that are related to the communication patterns, positively or negatively. Interpersonal communication is viewed here as a major channel through which immigrants learn about the ways to cope with their new social and cultural environment. It will be examined on three levels of intimacy: overall volume of interpersonal relationships, volume of casual friends with whom one can visit each other's home, and volume of close friends with whom one can discuss personal and private matters; and organizational activities. It is believed that few will dispute the importance of communication between and among members of different ethnic groups and the majority of the host society in maintaining the basic order and unity within the host society.

METHOD

The inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic communication patterns of foreign immigrants and the key factors that are related to individual differences in the communication patterns were explored by analyzing data from a survey conducted among the Korean population in the Chicago area during July-September 1975. Four hundred Korean households were randomly selected from three available sources — *the Korean Directory of Chicago* (1974), lists of Korean church members in the area, and the *Chicago and Vicinity Telephone Directory*. The accepted practice of systematic random sampling was employed.[11] Any overlapping of the sample was carefully eliminated before the survey.

Due to the widely diffused residential areas of the Korean population, the survey was conducted by mail questionnaires. Respondents with a telephone were called by the investigator and were further encouraged to cooperate. For those who were married, either husband or wife was asked to respond without consulting with his or her spouse. Out of the 400 households, 285 completed questionnaires were returned, a response rate of 70%. Out of the 115 non-responses, 52 were due to change of address.

After the questionnaires were returned, students and travelers who were staying in the United States only a short period of time were excluded in order to limit the present study to those Koreans who had at least temporarily decided to immigrate to the United States. The total number of questionnaires that were actually used in the data analysis was 281.

When the distribution of the number of years the respondents had lived in the United States was analyzed, the average length of stay of the sample was 4.2 years. The maximum length of stay was 26 years and the minimum, less than one year. This pattern closely approximates the increasing number of Koreans who entered the United States each year since 1950, especially since 1967, as reported by the United States Office of Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The immigrant's intra-ethnic communication involvement was assessed by looking at the volume of interpersonal relationships within the Korean community. The immigrant's inter-ethnic communication involvement was assessed by the volume of interpersonal relationship with White Americans, Black Americans, and other ethnic individuals excluding the above three groups. Upon analyzing the data, however, it was found that the most of the immigrants' inter-ethnic communication was with White Americans and their interaction with Black Americans and other ethnic individuals was negligible.[12] Therefore, in the subsequent analysis of data, only the interpersonal communication with White Americans was considered for the immigrant's inter-ethnic communication involvement.

The interpersonal relationships with Koreans and White Americans were further categorized into three levels of intimacy: casual acquaintances, friends with whom one meets in one another's home, and close friends or confidants with whom one can discuss private and personal problems. The underlying assumption was that the number of interpersonal relationships on the three levels of intimacy indicates both the quality and the quantity of the immigrant's communication experiences.[13] In addition, degree of participation as a regular member in American and Korean organizations was measured in order to assess the immigrant's participation in formal communication in their ethnic community as well as in the host society.

In order to identify some factors which are related to immigrants' interpersonal communication activities, the following variables were included in the study: (1) English competency, (2) acculturation motivation, (3) interaction potential, (4) education, (5) length of time in the United States, (6) family income, (7) age at the time of immigration, and (8) present age. Among these background variables, English competency, acculturation motivation, and interaction potential were measured through composite-item scales. To assess English competency, respondents were asked to estimate their own speaking and understanding of English. The immigrant's subjective evaluation of and confidence in his or her own English competency was considered as influential in communication behaviors as the actual command of the language.[14] The average correlation coefficient (r) among the four items was .69, and the Cronbach's Alpha, .90.

Acculturation motivation of the immigrants was measured by three questions concerning their level of interest in learning the culture of the American society, in making friends with Americans, and in learning the current issues in the United States. For the three items, the average inter-item correlation coefficient (r) was .38 and Cronbach's Alpha, 152. The relatively low correlations among the items perhaps is due to the difficulty of tapping the complex psychological variable through the three simple self-report questions.[15] Nonetheless, the three items were considered to provide a reasonable basis from which the immigrant's acculturation motivation, or at least, the extent to which acculturation was considered socially desirable could be estimated.

The term interaction potential means the degree of opportunity for association with members of the host society provided by the immigrant's everyday environment. In this study, the percentage of Americans out of total daily contacts of the immigrant was estimated through two items: "Of all the daily conversations you have, what percentage is with Americans?" and "In your present occupation, what percentage of the people you ordinarily come in contact with is with Americans?" The two items correlated with each other by $r = .49$, $p < .001$.

RESULTS

The survey data were analyzed in terms of (1) developmental patterns of the immigrant's intra-ethnic communication and inter-ethnic communication and (2) variables in the immigrant's background characteristics that are related to individual differences in communication patterns. The first analysis was based on cross-sectional comparisons among six subgroups divided by the length of stay in the United States (see Figure 1). In the second analysis, such individual characteristics as education, sex, age at the time of immigration, English competency, acculturation motivation, marital status and length of stay in the United States, were analyzed in relation to the inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic communication involvements.

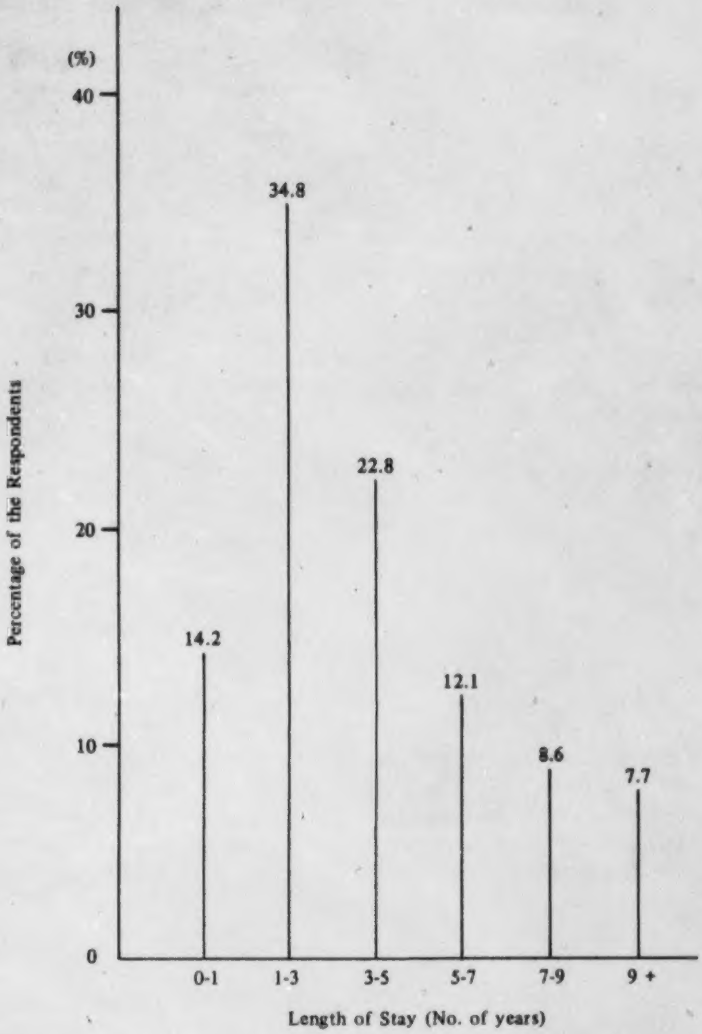
TREND ANALYSIS

Ideally, the trends in the immigrant's communication patterns should be observed through time-series data that are collected repeatedly over the years. In the present study, however, the trends were traced only through the cross-sectional comparisons as a reasonable approach to examine the general developmental patterns of the immigrant's communication involvements.

Results of the trend analysis are reported in the following section in terms of (1) general shape of developmental curves, (2) significance of change over time determined by analysis of variance across the six subgroups, and (3) significance of linearity in the curves, i.e., whether the change over the years is linear or nonlinear.[16]

Casual Acquaintances

The volume of casual American acquaintances (whom one knows well enough to speak to when they meet) steadily increased during the first nine years and tends to reach a more or less stabilized stage (see Figure 2). The average number of American casual acquaintances was 48.9 across all six subgroups. The number was only 10.6 within the first year, and increased up to 123.8 by the time the immigrants had lived in the host



$\overline{X}$ = 4.2, S.D. = 4.0, Minimum = 0.1, Maximum = 26.0,
N = 281

Figure 1. Percentage of Immigrants Grouped by Length of Stay

society for seven to nine years. After nine years, the volume of an immigrant's American casual acquaintances tended to decrease slightly. Throughout the acculturation process, the average number of ethnic acquaintances was considerably greater than American acquaintances, indicating that the first-generation of Korean immigrants generally associate more with other Koreans than with Americans.

Casual Friends

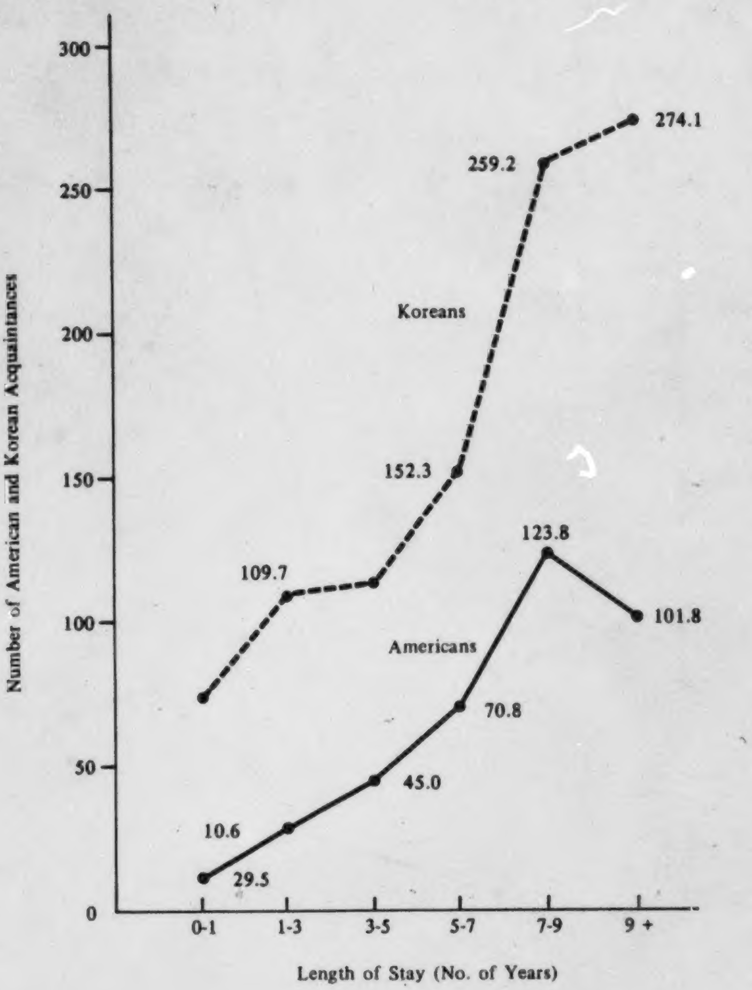
The trends in the volume of American casual friends (with whom one can exchange invitation to each other's home) showed a somewhat different pattern from those of casual acquaintances. In the case of casual acquaintances, both the number of American and Korean acquaintances increased simultaneously during the first nine years in the host society. On the other hand, the number of an immigrant's casual friends within the ethnic community increased only up to the first five years, after which it decreased. Instead, the number of American friends continued to increase throughout the years, although after nine years, the trend seemed to stabilize. The composition of an immigrant's friendship circle, therefore, was gradually supplanted by that of Americans. The ratio between the Korean and American friends during the first three years was 11.9:1. The ratio decreased to 2.4:1 after nine years (see Figure 3).

Intimate Friends

The pattern of change in the immigrant's friendship circle, from ethnic homogeniety to a mixture of Korean and American friends, becomes even more salient when one examines the trends in intimate friendships only (see Figure 4). During the first year, the average immigrant had 4.6 ethnic intimate friends and only .3 American intimate friends. These numbers steadily increased up to seven to nine years; after the nine years, however, the number of intimate Korean friends dropped, while that of American intimate friends continued to grow. At this point, the average immigrant had an almost equal number of ethnic and American friends within the intimate friendship circle.

Organizational Membership

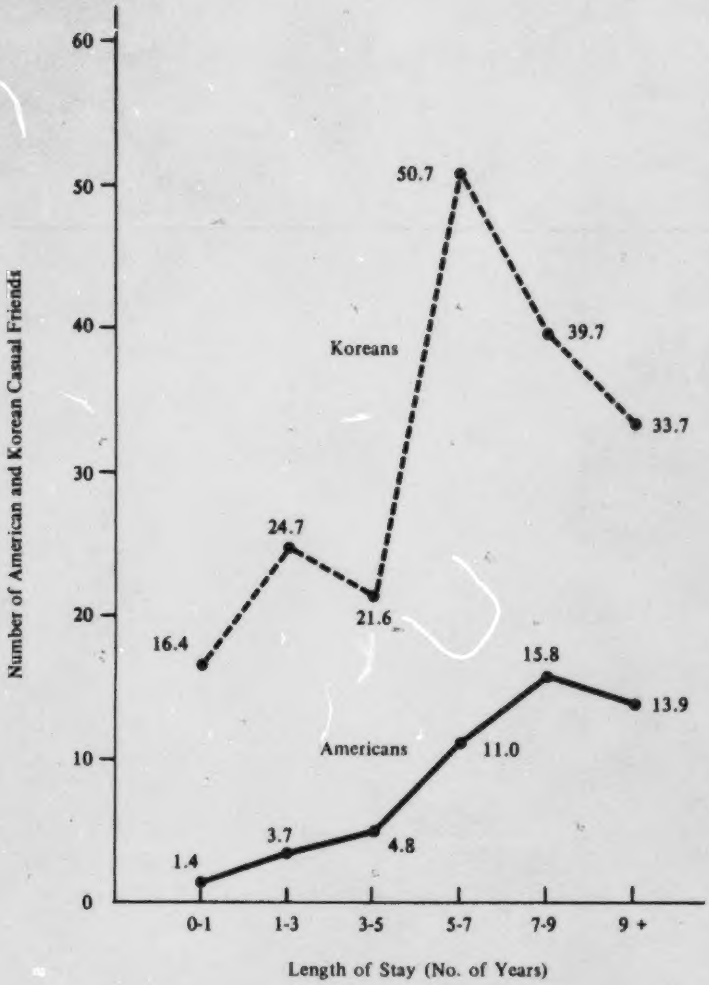
Overall, the Korean immigrants participate more actively in Korean organizations than in American organizations. Sixty-five percent of the respondents belonged to one or two Korean organizations and 20% to more than three. Only 15% did not have any membership in Korean organizations. On the other hand, 55% of the immigrants did not belong to any American organizations. Trends in the immigrant's organizational participation demonstrate a pattern closely corresponding to those of the volume of casual acquaintances, i.e., a general linear increase over the years. An immigrant becomes more active in organizational activities both in the host society and in the ethnic community. This finding suggests a close relationship between the two types of communication involvement, casual acquaintances and organizational membership. The volume of casual acquaintances (both Koreans and Americans) tends to increase as participation in organizations (both Korean and American) increases (compare Figure 2 and Figure 5).



Americans
Overall $\overline{X} = 48.9$
Analysis of Variance
$F = 7.20$
$p = .001$
Test of Linearity
$r = .33$
$F = .82$, $p = .514$

Koreans
Overall $\overline{X} = 138.1$
Analysis of Variance
$F = 5.31$
$p = .001$
Test of Linearity
$r = .28$
$F = .86$, $p = .491$

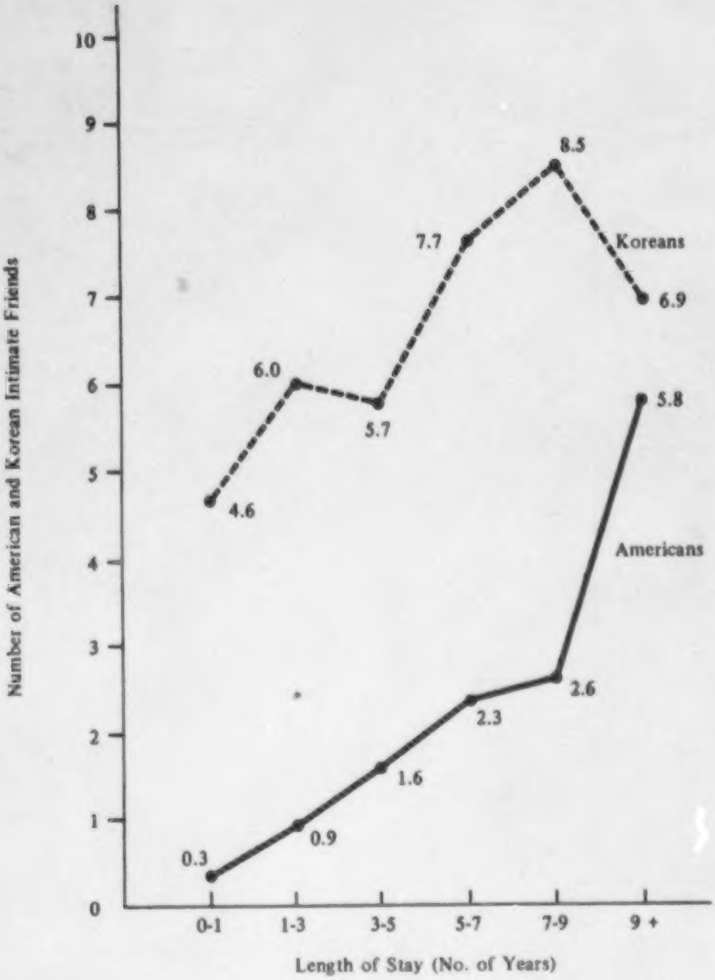
Figure 2. Trends in Volume of American and Korean Acquaintances



Americans
Overall $\overline{X} = 5.9$
Analysis of Variance
$F = 10.37$, $p = .001$
Test of Linearity
$r = .38$, $F = 1.28$, $p = .279$

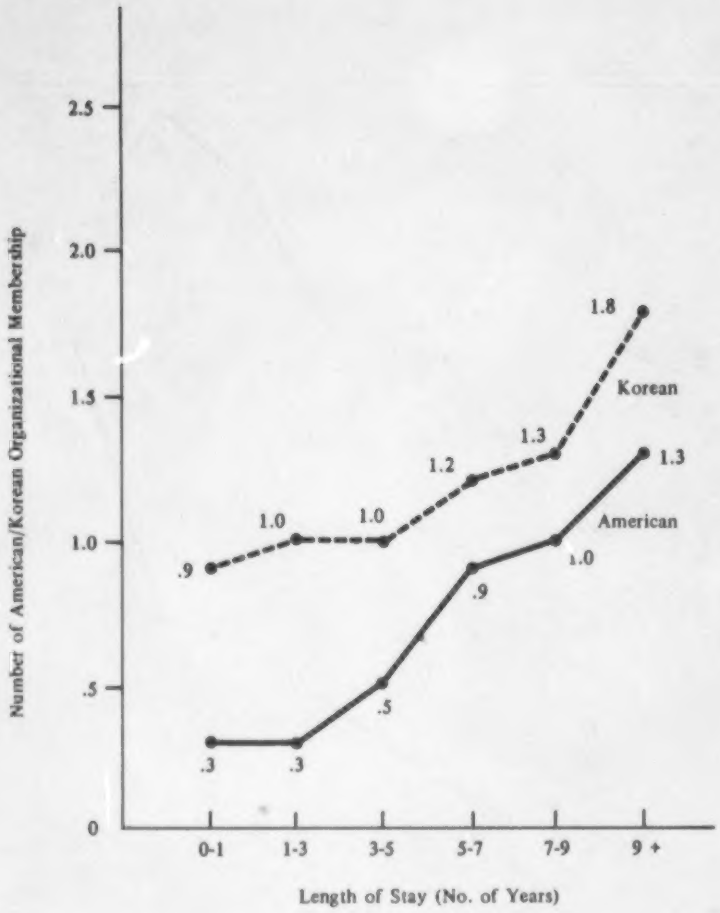
Koreans
Overall $\overline{X} = 28.6$
Analysis of Variance
$F = 2.83$, $p = .016$
Test of Linearity
$r = .16$, $F = 1.77$, $p = .136$

Figure 3. Trends in Volume of American and Korean Casual Friends



Americans	Koreans
Overall $\overline{X} = 1.6$	Overall $\overline{X} = 6.3$
Analysis of Variance	Analysis of Variance
$F = 9.0$, $p = .001$	$F = 1.29$, $p = .268$
Test of Linearity	Test of Linearity
$r = .35$, $F = 1.46$, $p = .214$	$r = .13$, $F = .52$, $p = .722$

Figure 4. Trends in Volume of American and Korean Intimate Friends



American Organization
Overall $\overline{X} = .6$
Analysis of Variance
$F = 6.78$, $p = .001$
Test of Linearity
$r = .29$, $F = 1.90$, $p = .111$

Korean Organization
Overall $\overline{X} = 1.1$
Analysis of Variance
$F = 12.09$, $p = .001$
Test of Linearity
$r = .42$, $F = .68$, $p = .604$

Figure 5. Trends in Number of American and Korean Organizational Memberships

CORRELATIONAL ANALYSIS

In addition to the trend analysis, a further attempt was made to explore the interrelationship between intra-ethnic communication and inter-ethnic communication on the four levels of communication relationship — casual acquaintances, friends, intimate friends, and organizational membership. Based on all 281 respondents, the Pearson correlation coefficients (r) were computed as reported in Table 1.

TABLE 1

CORRELATION (r) BETWEEN INTER-ETHNIC AND INTRA-ETHNIC COMMUNICATION VARIABLES
(N = 281)

	Korean Acq.	Korean Frnd.	Korean Int. Frnd.	Korean Org.
American Acq.	.61	.54	.46	.21
American Frnd.	.43	.54	.46	.12*
American Int. Frnd.	.26	.46	.28	.08*
American Org.	.25	.27	.24	.31

*All correlation coefficients are significant at the .001 level except the ones marked by *.

The results show that the relationship between intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic communication is stronger on the same level of communication relationship than on different levels. In general, it is observed that an immigrant who is higher in involvement in interpersonal relationships within the ethnic community tends to be higher in participation in interpersonal communication in the host society.

The next analysis was to identify factors that were related to differential involvement of the immigrants in intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic communication. Correlation coefficients (r) were computed for the degree of relationships between the immigrant's individual background characteristics and the degree of communication involvements on three levels of interpersonal relationship and organizational activities (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

CORRELATION (r) BETWEEN INTER-ETHNIC AND INTRA-ETHNIC COMMUNICATION AND BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS
(N = 281)

Background Characteristics	K. Acq.	K. Frnd.	K. Int. Frnd.	K. Org.	A. Acq.	A. Frnd.	A. Int. Frnd.	A. Org.
English Competency	.14**	.14**	.07	.32***	.29***	.28***	.29***	.58***
Acculturation Motivation	.11	.05	.05	-.03	.16*	.21**	.20**	.18**
Interaction Potential	-.03	-.02	.01	-.04	.31***	.34***	.36***	.40***
Educational Background	.13**	.13**	.07	.14**	.20***	.16**	.11**	.37***
No. of Years in U.S.	.28**	.16**	.13	.29**	.33***	.38***	.35***	.42***
Family Income	.13*	.14**	.15**	.27***	.21***	.25***	.14**	.25***
Age at Immigration	.08	-.02	.06	.05	.00	.03	.04	.02
Present Age	.16**	.16**	.13*	.23***	.13*	.11*	.11*	.17**

*Correlation coefficients significant at the .05 level
**Correlation coefficients significant at the .01 level
***Correlation coefficients significant at the .001 level

Earlier in the time-trend analysis, it was reported that the immigrant's inter-ethnic as well as intra-ethnic communication generally increased over years in linear patterns. Reflecting such trends, all of the eight communication variables, particularly the total acquaintances and organizational membership in both Korean and the [illegible]an society, were positively related to the length of stay in the United Stat[illegible] positive relationships were observed between English competency and the involvement in American as well as Korean organizations, and in interpersonal relationships with Americans on all three levels of intimacy. Acculturation motivation was significantly related to an immigrant's participation in the three levels of inter-ethnic communication in the host society, and the organizational membership in both ethnic and the host society. The interaction potential of the immigrants was significantly related to the involvement in American organizations and interpersonal relationships with Americans, but *not* to intra-ethnic communication activities.

An immigrant's educational background was significantly related to inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic communication, in terms of the number of total acquaintances and organizational membership. The higher an immigrant's educational level, the greater was the involvement in the ethnic community and in the host society. Immigrants with higher levels of income were found to be more active in their participation in the host society, and in the ethnic community to a lesser degree. Those who were older were more active in their intra-ethnic communication than those who were younger. Age at the time of immigration was not significantly related to any of the eight communication variables. On the other hand, the respondent's age at the time of survey was positively related to all of the communication variables. It is probably due to the fact that most of the respondents came to the United States when they were over 20 years old, consequently the age difference (at the time of immigration) was not found to be a crucial factor in relation to communication behaviors. It is further speculated that the significance of age at the time of immigration can be observed in whether immigration occurs before or after one's childhood.

DISCUSSION

The present study has analyzed the intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic communication patterns of foreign immigrants through four levels of communication relationship: total volume of acquaintances, casual friends, intimate friends, and organizational membership. The major findings from the data analysis are summarized below.

1. Throughout the years, immigrants' interpersonal interaction and organizational involvement within the ethnic community is stronger than in the host society.

2. The volume of the immigrant's American acquaintances (including casual and intimate friends) as well as participation in American organizations increase through time. The same pattern of linear increase is observed in the number of ethnic acquaintances and organizational membership.

3. The volume of the immigrant's casual friends — both Americans and Koreans — increases during the first nine years, after which association with ethnic friends decreases. Friendship composition is relatively ethnic and homogenous during the initial years and becomes more heterogenous through time. This trend is more clearly observed in the immigrant's intimate friendship circle.

4. Immigrants with greater involvement in the host communication channels tend to be also active in their own ethnic community. This tendency is stronger in total volume of acquaintances and organizational membership, and less in intimate friendship patterns.

5. **Older immigrants tend to participate in intra-ethnic communication more than younger immigrants. English competency, educational background, and number of years in the United States are positively related to the immigrant's intra-ethnic communication, but *not* to the intimate friendship with Koreans.**

The results of this exploratory study add some new insights into the immigrants' inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic communication patterns in the process of acculturation. First, the observed increase in participation in both American and Korean organizations, and in the overall volume of interpersonal relationship with Americans and Koreans reflect the "structural pluralism," i.e., ethnic individuals maintain their active membership in both host society and their own ethnic community. Secondly, while the present data demonstrate the simultaneous involvement of immigrants in both ethnic and host society, the observed change in the immigrant's casual and intimate friendship circle (from an ethnic and homogenous one to a mixed and heterogenous one) suggests that the reference role of the ethnic individuals is intensified during the initial period of acculturation because of the absence of other meaningful groups to which they can refer for information, advice, and affection. With the passage of time, however, the immigrant comes into repeated and prolonged contact with the natives; such non-kin individuals become incorporated into the immigrant's communication interaction and frame of reference in more and more meaningful ways. The difference between the results in the present study and the previous studies may be due in part to the social and political change in recent years toward greater independence and preservation of ethnicity among minority groups. It is also suggested that the previous assumption regarding the nature and function of intra-ethnic communication needs to be re-examined and that, in future studies, the immigrant's communication patterns should be closely analyzed by differentiating levels of intimacy in interpersonal relationship.

Finally, a few shortcomings of the present study need to be identified. The data were collected from only one particular ethnic group — the Korean community in the Chicago area. It is likely that the specific patterns of changes in communication, the time-length involved in such developments, and the strength of relationships among variables of acculturation-communication will vary from one ethnic group to another, and for different situations of acculturation. Size of an ethnic community, cohesiveness among members of the community, the degree of compatibility of original cultural norms and values with those of the host culture, may all contribute to an ethnic individual's inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic communication patterns.

Also, as noted earlier, the data in the present analysis were collected only at one point in time, and the developmental trends in the immigrant's communication can be more accurately answered through time-series observations of the same individuals over an extended period of time. Through time-series data, it is possible to trace the development of the immigrant's communication patterns more realistically. Through replications among different ethnic groups, the findings in the present study can be further verified and will gain greater application for a wider range of population. Also, sources of variations in the communication patterns and changes among different ethnic groups and individuals can be identified.

Further, we need to study more closely the communication network system within ethnic communities and across ethnic boundaries, as well as the process by which information from the host society is transmitted to ethnic individuals and vice versa. Through such analyses, we can identify those individuals who play the role of "gatekeepers," "opinion leaders," "cultural middlemen," or "liaison individuals," who are in an advantageous position to facilitate effective acculturation for new immigrants. In summary, this study offers only a starting point from which more research questions are generated. A great deal of attention needs to be paid to the communication processes of foreign immigrants. Communication researchers can play a vital role in promoting more effective communication and understanding between ethnic communities and the host society, by providing scientific insights into the underlying processes of communication.

NOTES

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[1] The term acculturation is defined here as "... the change in individuals whose primary learning has been in one culture and who take over traits from another culture." [Charles F. Marden and Gladys Meyer, *Minorities in America (N.Y.: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1968) p. 35.*]

[2] G.C. Spindler and W. Goldschmidt, "Experimental Design in the Study of Culture Change," *Southern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 8 (Spring 1952), 62-83.

[3] Young Yun Kim, "Communication Patterns of Foreign Immigrants in the Process of Acculturation," *Human Communication Research*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Fall 1977), 66-77.

[4] See, for example, G. V. Coelho, *Changing Images of America: A Study of Indian Students' Perceptions* (N.Y.: Free Press, 1958); Richard T. Mo[illegible] *[illegible]e Two-Way Mirror* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1960); Claire Selltiz, June R. Christ, Joan Havel, and S. W. Cook, *Attitudes and Social Relations of Foreign Students in the United States* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963); Alexander Weinstock, "Some Factors That Retard or Accelerate the Rate of Acculturation" *Human Relations*, Vol. 17 (Nov. 1964), 321-40; Ithiel de Sola Pool, "Effects of Cross-National Contact on National and International Images," in *International Behavior: A Social-Psychological Analysis*, eds. Herbert Kelman et al. (N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), pp. 104-29; Giyoshi Nagata, "A Statistical Approach to the Study of Acculturation of an Ethnic Group Based on Communication-Oriented Variables: The Case of Japanese Americans in Chicago," Dissertation, University of Illinois, 1969.

[5] Tamotsu Shibutani and Kian M. Kwan, *Ethnic Stratification: A Comparative Approach* (N.Y.: Macmillan Co., 1965), p. 982.

[6] Bernard Lazerwitz, "Some Factors in Jewish Identification," *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 15 (Jan. 1954), 3-24.

[7] Leonard Broom and John I. Kitsuse, "The Validation of Acculturation: A Condition to Ethnic Assimilation," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 57 (Feb. 1955), 44-48.

[8] Marden and Meyer, pp. 40-51.

[9] Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 235-36.

[10] By "natural" process, I mean the process of changes in immigrants without systematic institutional arrangements to either promote or retard the process of acculturation.

[11] For a discussion on systematic random sampling, see Hubert M. Blalock, *Social Statistics* (N.Y.: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1972), pp. 514-18.

[12] The average number of Black acquaintances was 7.6, Black casual friends, 0.6, and Black intimate friends, 0.3; the average number of other ethnic acquaintances was 14.6, other ethnic casual friends, 1.3, and other ethnic intimate friends, 0.4.

[13] For a theoretical rationale for this assumption, see Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, "Friendship as a Social Process: A Substantive and Methodological Analysis," in *Freedom and Control in Modern Society*, eds. Morroe Berger et al. (1954; New York: Octagon Books, 1964), pp. 18-66.

[14] See Selltiz et al., p. 124, for a supportive argument.

[15] Distribution of responses on the four-point scales ("Little," "A Little," "Somewhat," and "A Lot") shows a skewness toward higher levels of motivation, which suggests that an artifact of "social desirability" might have biased the responses.

[16] The test of linearity (or "linear trend test") allows one to find out whether the change in each of the variables shows linear or non-linear trends. In formal terms, it allows one to test the hypothesis that the coefficients of the non-linear terms of the general statistical prediction model are all equal to zero. Thus, if the statistical significance level is close to .05 level or zero, the test result indicates that the change trend is non-linear; the farther away from zero the coefficient is, the stronger the degree to which the trend follows linear. For details, see Norman Nie et al. eds., *Statistical Package for the Social Science* (N.Y.: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1975), pp. 257-61.

COMMUNICATION NETWORKS AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

FELIPE KORZENNY and RICHARD V. FARACE

This paper analyzes and summarizes the major body of literature generated with regard to communication networks and social change in developing countries. The results suggest that communication is a necessary factor for change to take place, but it is not a sufficient condition. When there are opinion leaders who link the parts of a social system whose norms favor change, and external communication travels from the outside of the social system through opinion leaders to the community, change is triggered. Heterophily of association is not conducive to change by itself, but when there are opinion leaders who bridge the heterophily gap from the outside to the inside of a social system, the possibility for change to occur is heightened. If the norms of a social system in general are negative towards change, then any effort towards change is likely to fail, since informal opinion leaders tend to adhere to the norms of the system. In this case, preliminary efforts towards social change should be directed at creating a more favorable generalized disposition towards change. These results are discussed under the light of available theory and evidence, and a comprehensive multivariate model is proposed for future inquiry.

The purposes of this paper are to: (1) review the empirical research and major literature relating human communication networks to social change in developing countries, and (2) derive a multivariate model designed to be used in a subsequent test of the relationships found in the review. An empirically testable model can help clarify the relationships among the variables that link communication networks and social change in developing countries. Social change refers to a variety of processes by which members of a social system shift from traditional techniques (for example, of agriculture and family planning) to alternative techniques that offer relative advantages along certain dimensions such as better agricultural yields and a lower rate of human proliferation. The perspective of social change taken here recognizes the possibility of "multilinear evolution," in which social systems evolve differently, borrow culturally and materially from each other, and capitalize on mutual and cumulative experience.[1] Social change is typically cast in a positive light; it refers to the improvement of social systems, or to the retardation of starvation or destruction.[2]

The concept of a network has been described in graph theory terms as: "...a finite set of points linked, or partly linked, by a set of lines (termed arcs) called a *net*, there being no restrictions on the number of lines linking any pair of points or on the direction of those lines...A *network* in graph theory is a relation in which the lines connecting the points, have values ascribed to them, which may or may not be numerical."[3] Human systems, through interaction, create links among members. People (or larger social units) are the points and their interactions are the links; overall patterns of links result in networks. Diffusion and social change are in part network phenomena because they involve regular flows of information and the transmission of influence. Rogers (1975) notes that network analysis constitutes a unique form of putting structure back into diffusion research.[4] Diffusion research which only uses random or quasi-random sampling produces results similar to that of a biologist putting an animal through a meat grinder, he notes. In both cases, the possibility of isolating the structure of the system is precluded. Network analysis is a form of relational analysis, directed explicitly toward identifying structured relationships. Networks are "repetitive patterns of interaction among the members of a social system."[5] Network analysis offers a means for relating communication structure to social change.

The authors of this paper conducted an extensive literature research and identified 21 studies or papers which link aspects of communication networks and social change in developing countries.[6] Some of the studies report empirical findings (hypothesis-testing and/or post-hoc results), others offer detailed non-empirical discussions of the topic, and the remainder provide more general, less precise commentaries, often anecdotal and with implicit assumptions only. The studies vary in their attempt to generate a theoretical basis for understanding human interaction patterns and social change, but they all deal with the central focus of this paper: *an explication of the linkage between human communication networks and social change in developing countries.*

METHOD

In order to assemble evidence relating to the central focus of this paper, the 21 studies noted above were read and 262 statements or assertions were identified. Three basic features of each statement were recorded: (1) its support or non-support for a broader, more general proposition; (2) the nature of the evidence (empirical research, either hypothesized or post-hoc; direct assertions in non-empirical literature; and anecdotes or assumptions implicit in the study in question); and (3) the level of analysis at which the statement was made (individual, group, or social system).

The first feature of each statement requires little further clarification: statements were judged to be supportive, or were considered non-supportive. The second factor involved classifying statements according to the nature of the evidence: (1) empirically tested hypotheses, or post-hoc empirical findings; (2) clear-cut literature references; and (3) comments, presented with a justifying anecdote, or granted as assumptions.[7] The third factor, level of analysis, is included since network analysis is not restricted to one social system level. An advantage of network analysis is its use at various system levels in order to uncover unique relationships. Hence, researchers differentially concentrate their attention at varying levels.

There are three levels of analysis. First level of analysis is the social system which "is defined as a collectivity of units which are functionally differentiated and engaged in joint problem-solving with respect to a common goal. The members or units of a social system may be individuals, informal groups, complex organizations, or subsystems."[8] In the literature reviewed, the village is typically identified as the primary social system. Second level of analysis is groups which are viewed as functionally different units within the village. An accepted definition of a group in the network analysis literature is: it must"(1) contain at least three members; (2) communicate greater than some criterion percentage (typically 50%) with one another relative to all others in the system; (3) be directly or indirectly linked through some path lying entirely within the group,"[9] and sometimes meet a more stringent criterion added by some authors, (4) and when "no single link nor individual can be removed and cause the group to dissolve."[10] One of the typical objectives of network analytic techniques is to identify substructures or groups in the larger social system. The differentiation of these two levels is useful. For example, the effect of communication within a group on social change can be expected to be different from the effect of communication among groups in the larger social system. People that interact in small groups with a certain frequency may not convey as much information to each other as people from another interacting group may provide to them. Third level of analysis is the individual. At the individual level, the focal point is the structural position of a certain *individual* within his or her own network. A typical definition of a personal communication network is "the interconnected individuals who are linked by patterned communication flows to any given individual."[11] At the individual level, one can investigate the degree to which one individual is connected to others, or one can examine the density or interconnectedness of the individuals in a personal communication network. A statement taken from the literature review was assigned to one of the three levels of analysis according to the highest system level of the variable to which it was linked. For example, the proposition "group integration is positively related to adoption of agricultural innovations by its members," is classified at the group level of analysis.

It is important to note that the statements or assertions relating communication networks to social change do not represent expressions of *causality*, i.e., that certain network characteristics produce or create some type of social change. Most authors are clear to indicate that they are discussing important associations among variables, with the causal mechanism remaining to be investigated further. Studies involving the test of an explicitly stated hypothesis come somewhat closer to identifying potential causal relations. An important goal of this paper is to gather evidence relating networks and social change in an attempt to develop a logic that is sufficiently powerful so that further progress toward a robust, predictive, causally oriented model is possible. Given the logic or theory of relationships expressed in this paper, a multivariate model will be presented which, when adequately tested, may shed further light on the causal linkages between communication networks and social change.

RESULTS

Across the studies reviewed, three important topic areas emerged. The three areas and underlying propositions reviewed are:

1. The more communication, the more social change.
    - 1a. The more internal communication, the more social change.
    - 1b. The more external communication, the more social change.
    - 1c. The more external communication, the more internal communication.
2. The more heterophily among people who communicate, the more social change.
3. The more opinion leadership, the more social change.
    - 3a. The more the overlap of informal and formal opinion leadership, the more the social change.

3b. The more the opinion leadership concentration, the more traditional the social system.

3c. The more modern the social system, the more innovative the opinion leaders are when compared with the subgroup of members.

3d. The more specialized the opinion leaders, the more modern the social system.

All propositions are stated as linear, positive relationships. While it would be simpler to state merely that "a relationship exists" between each pair of concept terms in a proposition, the majority of the literature follows the format that has been used here. In many cases there is little evidence to support the linear statement, and there is reason to expect at least some of the relationships to be non-linear. However, the linear relationship can be readily communicated and tested statistically.

PROPOSITIONS: SUMMARY AND EVIDENCE

1. The More Communication, the More Social Change

In the field of international or cross-cultural communication, there has been a long-standing belief that the more communication inputs, the more social change. The literature on mass communication and national development frequently contains expressions of this view.[12] In the 21 studies reviewed, 42% (111) of the 262 total statements relate to this basic belief. Examples of this view are Yadav:[13] "The range of social interaction is greater in a modern social system than in a traditional one."; and Guimaraes:[14] "The higher the degree of communication integration in a given social system, the higher its degree of innovativeness."

The relevant statements generally refer to the extent and diversity of linkages, and in this sense to the amount of communication from outside the social system. The statements also refer to the communication generated from inside the social system. Inputs from the outside are communication links to persons, or the ones emergent from mass media, travel, etc. Communication originating from inside the system often refers to connectedness, integrativeness, and other measures that reflect communication activity inside the system. The evidence available for this proposition is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

EVIDENCE FOR PROPOSITION 1: THE MORE COMMUNICATION, THE MORE SOCIAL CHANGE

Source of Evidence / Level of Analysis	Empirical Literature				Non-empirical Literature Assertions		Non-empirical Literature Anecdotes Assumptions		Totals	
	Hypothesized Relations		Post-Hoc Relations							
	S	NS	S	NS	S	NS	S	NS	%	Freq.
Social System	13%#	6%	5%	4%	12%	1%	19%	0%	60%	66*
Group	1%	2%	1%	0%	8%	2%	2%	2%	18%	19
Individual	0%	1%	6%	3%	5%	1%	7%	1%	24%	26
Totals (freq)	15* 14%	10 9%	14 12%	7 7%	27 25%	4 4%	31 28%	13 3%	102%**	111*

S = Supportive

NS = Non-supportive

*Number of statements in each row or column total, or overall total.

**Exceeds 100% due to rounding error.

#Read as "13% of the overall total of 111 statements were found in the empirical literature, expressed as hypothesized relations, and supported the proposition."

If the column percentages for supportive assertions are summed, 79% of the statements favor the proposition that increased communication produces greater change. However, only 26% have direct empirical support, with the remainder backed by non-empirical literature. Contrary empirical evidence is found in 16% of the findings. If direct empirical support is weighed more heavily than literature-only findings, the proposition receives more support than disconfirmation. Note that most of the evidence on the proposition is at the social system level; 60% of the statements are so identified. The abundance of studies reflecting social systems is not surprising since most use intact social systems, villages or communities, for network analysis. The empirical evidence is primarily found at the social system level (28% of all statements). There are very few statements at the group level (4%), and only 10% at the individual level. Most of the group and individual statements are supportive.

In summary, Proposition 1 is supported more often than it is rejected. However, it should be noted that certain beliefs or myths may be perpetuated by the selectiveness of the researcher. As shown in Table 1, the statements from the literature and the anecdotal statements are more frequently supportive than the statements found in the empirical studies. Since most of the available evidence is found at the social system level, more research is needed at the other two levels. This evidence suggests that the degree of support could vary by system levels. Perhaps the amount of communication at the larger social system level does serve as a catalyst for change. At the group or individual levels, communication *per se* may not bring new inputs into the system and consequently change may not necessarily follow. The lack of statements at these last two levels allows us to make only conjectures that are illustrative of the need for more evidence. There are two hypothesized empirical statements that support the proposition in the *opposite* direction. They are both at the group level of analysis; the rationale offered is that communication at the subsystem level may not contribute new inputs to the members. Instead, it may simply be redundant information.[15] It is unlikely that mere amount of communication *per se* is a variable that explains change in a detailed fashion. Communication can also counteract change, or simply be functional to the existing system.[16] Further refinement of this initial proposition is needed to provide better explanation of the mechanism(s) at work.

Ia. The More Internal Communication, the More Social Change

In moving to a more specific propositional level, one finds two basic concepts, connectedness and integration, that reflect internal communication. The definitions most commonly used for these two concepts are: (1) Connectedness is "The degree to which the units (individuals) in a system are linked by communication flows. The formula is based on the ratio of the actual number of communication relationships in a system, divided by the number of possible communication relationships";[17] and (2) Integration is defined as the "extent to which the groups to which a focal group is linked are linked to one another."[18] The difference between these two concepts, connectedness and integration, is not very precise in the literature. Rogers et al., use both terms interchangeably.[19] There is an underlying rationale in the literature which suggests that the more a social unit is related to other units, the more opportunities there are for change to be communicated and implemented.

Example statements that support the proposition are: Gutkind: "The more integrated a person is into a situational network, the more favorable his/her attitude towards change;"[20] and Guimaraes: "Certain intrinsic characteristics of the system, such as encoding mechanisms, boundary control, adaptability, openness...are directly related to the system's degree of communication integration, and hence, modernization."[21]

Twenty-eight percent (or 73) of the statements identified in this literature search are related to Proposition Ia. Most of the statements are very explicit with regard to the variables involved, although some are less precise or use correlates of the main two variables in their wording. Table Ia presents the evidence available for this proposition. Sixty-nine percent of the 73 statements support this proposition. Twenty-nine percent of the statements have some evidence from literature. Of these, 24% are in favor and 5% are against. Half (52%) of the statements have been empirically tested; 31% are supportive, while 21% are non-supportive. However, of the hypothesized relationships, slightly more were non-supportive (14%) than supportive (12%). For the post-hoc evidence, almost three times as many statements are supportive than are not. This comparison suggests that selective acts on the part of the researcher in reporting supportive findings in post-hoc studies may account for the level of empirical support the proposition receives. Fifty-two percent of the statements under Proposition Ia deal with the social system level of analysis, 21% with the group level, and 27% with the individual level.

TABLE Ia

EVIDENCE FOR PROPOSITION Ia: THE MORE INTERNAL COMMUNICATION, THE MORE SOCIAL CHANGE

Source of Evidence / Level of Analysis	Empirical Literature				Non-empirical Literature Assertions		Non-empirical Literature Anecdotes, Assumptions		Totals	
	Hypothesized Relations		Post-Hoc Relations							
	S	NS	S	NS	S	NS	S	NS	%	Freq.
Social System	11%	10%	8%	3%	11%	1%	8%	0%	52%	38
Group	1%	3%	1%	0%	7%	3%	3%	3%	21%	15
Individual	0%	1%	10%	4%	6%	1%	4%	1%	27%	20
Totals (freq)	9 12%	10 14%	14 19%	5 7%	17 24%	4 5%	11 15%	3 4%	100%	73

S = Supportive

NS = Non-supportive

The counter view of this proposition has important support. Danowski argues that as integration increases, "the homogeneity of information content increases."[22] This suggests that high amounts of integration or connectedness at or below the social system level may perpetuate the status quo. However, it is the degree of integration of the social system into still higher-level systems that may catalyze change. This possibility will be explored in Proposition Ib.

Ib. The More External Communication, the More Social Change

There are two main types of external communication channels: interpersonal and mass media. External communication can be further expanded to include broadcast and print media exposure, change agent contact, contact with other travelers, travel to other systems, etc. Messages from these channels enter the local system from the larger external system. Whereas Proposition Ia deals with the concept of groups integrated among themselves or to the larger social system, and with the connectivity of social units within the social system itself, Proposition Ib refers to the influence of communication originating from *outside* the geographical and social boundaries of the system. This influence can be analyzed at any of the three levels of analysis established earlier. The more communication inputs that reach the system, the more "open" it is. Openness has been typically defined as: "The degree to which a village exchanges information with its external environment."[23] An example of the statements that characterize Proposition Ib is: "Traditional systems are more relatively closed to the outside than less traditional ones."[24] The evidence for Proposition Ib is presented in Table Ib.

TABLE Ib

EVIDENCE FOR PROPOSITION Ib: THE MORE EXTERNAL COMMUNICATION, THE MORE SOCIAL CHANGE

Source of Evidence / Level of Analysis	Empirical Literature				Non-empirical Literature Assertions		Non-empirical Literature Anecdotes Assumptions		Totals	
	Hypothesized Relations		Post-Hoc Relations							
	S	NS	S	NS	S	NS	S	NS	%	Freq.
Social System	19%	0%	4%	7%	19%	0%	33%	0%	82%	22
Group	0%	4%	0%	0%	7%	0%	4%	0%	15%	4
Individual	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	4%	0%	4%	1
Totals (freq)	5 19%	1 4%	1 4%	2 7%	7 26%	0 0%	11 41%	0 0%	101%	27

S = Supportive
NS = Non-supportive

Twenty-seven statements were identified which relate external communication to change. The statements are highly supportive of Proposition Ib (90% of the 27). One in four (all supportive) are found in the literature, those with empirical support comprise one-third of the total (23% are in support, 11% are not). Statements hypothesizing support represent 19% of the total, with only 4% opposed to the proposition. For post-hoc empirical evidence, there are three statements, one in favor and two against. The anecdoctal evidence available is all in favor of the proposition; it represents 41% of all the statements for Proposition Ib. Eighty-two percent of all the statements are located at the social system level, 15% at the group level, and 4% at the individual level of analysis.

Most of the evidence is thus in favor of Proposition Ib, including the hypothesized empirical findings, and the great majority are at the social system level. Inputs from the outside seem to have a positive impact on social change. This finding is supportive of Kroeber's classical diffusion theory[25] and the neo-evolutionary perspective of Sahlins,[26] which states that cultures may borrow from one another without recapitulating stages of development. The only specifically hypothesized non-supportive statement, counter to the proposition, is reported by Danowski.[27] He argues that when the innovation to be diffused is highly discrepant from the value system of the receiver system or subsystem, openness may work against the adoption of the innovation and may actually reinforce traditional orientations.

Ic. The More External Communication, the More Internal Communication

If the relationship of external and internal communication to change were considerable,[28] then external communication could initiate internal communication.

Several explanations have been advanced for this relationship. Danowski suggests that the more open a system is, the more connected it has to be in order to process the information it receives.[29] Guimaraes points out that since "Cosmopoliteness is usually regarded as a modernizing force; as such, it tends to increase interpersonal contacts within the system."[30] Some examples of the statements that underly Proposition 1c, are: "External contacts are positively related to communication integration,"[31] and "The greater the openness of a system the greater its connectivity."[32] The distribution of the evidence available for this proposition is presented in Table 1c.

TABLE 1c

EVIDENCE FOR PROPOSITION 1c: THE MORE EXTERNAL COMMUNICATION, THE MORE INTERNAL COMMUNICATION

Source of Evidence / Level of Analysis	Empirical Literature				Non-empirical Literature Assertions		Non-empirical Literature Anecdotes Assumptions		Totals	
	Hypothesized Relations		Post-Hoc Relations							
	S	NS	S	NS	S	NS	S	NS	%	Freq.
Social System	4%	12%	8%	4%	12%	0%	4%	4%	48%	12
Group	4%	0%	0%	0%	4%	0%	8%	8%	24%	6
Individuals	0%	0%	0%	12%	0%	0%	16%	0%	28%	7
Totals (freq)	2 8%	3 12%	2 8%	4 16%	4 16%	0 0%	7 28%	3 12%	100%	25

S = Supportive

NS = Non-supportive

Twenty-five statements were classified under Proposition 1c. Of the 25 statements, 60% are in favor. Sixteen percent are based on literature evidence, and they all are supportive. Of the statements based on empirical data, roughly one-half show support. In both empirically hypothesized and post-hoc cases, the proposition is rejected more often than supported. Of the remaining items, 28% are in favor and 12% are opposed. Forty-eight percent of the statements are located at the social system level, 24% are at the group level, and 28% are at the individual level. The general lack of evidence makes it difficult to draw conclusions at all levels, especially at the two lower levels. However, taking all statements into consideration, the proposition is more often rejected than accepted across all levels of analysis.

In summary, the support for Proposition 1c is limited. In fact, the most credible evidence (the hypothesized empirical studies) points against it. Unfortunately, the rationale for this proposition does not specify the conditions under which greater external interaction will lead to greater internal communication. In addition, the total amount of interaction a system can undertake is limited. The more time the system spends communicating with the outside, the less time remains for internal interaction. Furthermore, exposure to external sources would lead to differing opinions and points of view, which may then lead to internal differentiation and not necessarily to integration. However, the interaction of external and internal communication may still lead to social change. Guimaraes states this as follows: "Communication, as the information processing subsystem of the social system, would function as a mediating element in the process of change when this mediating factor is 'integrated', and the receiving system is open and capable of reorganization, it is more likely that the system will tend toward modernization."[33] Rogers *et al.*, also share the above view: "System connectedness and system openness have a synergistic relationship in their positive relationship to knowledge of a taboo family planning innovation."[34] Under this point of view, an opinion leader emerges due to his/her access to external *and* internal channels of communication, not due to access to external channels alone. Nevertheless, the weight of currently available evidence gives scant support to Proposition 1c.

2. The More Heterophily Among People Who Communicate, the More Social Change

When people who interact are alike or highly similar on a number of dimensions (such as their belief structure, their values, their behaviors or their skills), the information they exchange can be expected to be more redundant than if the participants in the communication encounter are different. When no appreciable differences exist among people who communicate, the changes that they evoke in each other should tend to decrease, since new views are seldom exchanged. "Homophily" is used to denote similarity among people who communicate, whereas "heterophily" is used to signify differences. Homophily is defined as: "The degree to which pairs of individuals who interact are similar in certain attributes, such as beliefs, values, education social status, and the like."[35] Operationally, "It is an observed correlation between the designated attributes of individuals who have dyadic communication contacts."[36] Some examples of the statements assigned to Proposition 2 are: "The degree of occupational discrepancy between the migrant's own occupational prestige and the mean occupational prestige of his interpersonal network was not significantly related to locus of control in either type of network (friendship or instrumental networks);"[37] and "More traditional systems are characterized by a greater degree of homophily in interpersonal communication."[38] Table 2 presents the distribution of statements under Proposition 2.

TABLE 2

EVIDENCE FOR PROPOSITION 2: THE MORE HETEROPHILY AMONG PEOPLE WHO COMMUNICATE, THE MORE SOCIAL CHANGE

Source of Evidence / Level of Analysis	Empirical Literature				Non-empirical Literature Assertions		Non-empirical Literature Anecdotes Assumptions		Totals	
	Hypothesized Relations		Post-Hoc Relations							
	S	NS	S	NS	S	NS	S	NS	%	Freq.
Social System	4%	19%	2%	11%	4%	2%	11%	4%	57%	30
Group	0%	2%	2%	0%	13%	0%	0%	0%	17%	9
Individual	0%	2%	9%	4%	13%	0%	0%	0%	28%	15
Totals (freq)	2 4%	12 23%	7 13%	8 15%	6 30%	1 2%	6 11%	2 4%	102%	54

S = Supportive
NS = Non-supportive

Fifty-four (or 21%) of the 262 total statements provide the evidence for Proposition 2. Nearly three in five (58%) are supportive. Of the 54 statements, 32% are derived from literature, with 30% supportive and 2% non-supportive. Statements with empirical support comprise 55% of the total. Of these statements only 17% are supportive, whereas 38% are non-supportive. The hypothesized statements with empirical support are 27% of the total, with 4% in favor and 23% non-supportive. The statements backed by empirical post-hoc support are 28% of the total, with 13% in favor and 15% against. Fifteen percent of all statements have anecdotal or no support, or are stated as assumptions; 11% of these are in favor and 4% are against. Fifty-seven percent of the statements are located at the social system level. At this level, the general pattern of acceptance/rejection is not very different from the overall one. While Proposition 2 is more accepted than rejected, the most trustworthy evidence — empirical support — points to rejection. This suggests that the statements authors make about the proposition in the absence of empirical data are not sustained when empirical research is used to specifically test the assertion.

Heterophily is related to the concept of external communication. External sources of information are more likely to be heterophilous than internal ones. Yet, external communication is more consistently related to change. This contradiction requires some possible explanations. First, external communication is not necessarily heterophilous. If it is, the literature does not specify the dimensions of difference. Rogers and Bhowmik point out that heterophilous channels/sources (in terms of competence) *and* homophilous channels/sources (in terms of trustworthiness) lead to change. The followers pay attention to those leaders who are more competent than themselves, provided they believe that they can trust the source.[39] Further research is needed concerning the dimensions of homophily-heterophily which lead to change. Secondly, the bulk of the empirical hypothesized evidence is against the proposition, although most of it comes from a study by Yadav.[40] Eight out of ten hypotheses in this study were rejected because of lack of statistical significance, even though the results were in the right direction. The other two hypotheses were rejected due to statistically insignificant results in the opposite direction. One could perhaps argue with the procedure of rejecting eight hypotheses even though they were in the expected direction. Thirdly, the "strength of weak ties hypothesis" may help clarify the findings. "Other things being equal, information transmitted via weak ties would ultimately reach a larger number of people than it would if sent through strong ties."[41] In other words, the information transmitted through regular and frequent channels of communication is less likely to go very far in the social network, while the information sent over infrequent and extraordinary social contacts tends to travel larger social distances due to the penetration of tight social circles that otherwise would just circulate redundant messages. Weak sociometric ties are informationally strong or "the informational strength of dyadic communication relationships is inversely related to the degree of homophily (and the strength of the attraction) between the source and the receiver."[42] Heterophily may be a necessary but not sufficient condition for change. Considering the informational strength of weak sociometric ties, Liu and Duff state that for maximum communication diffusion and effectiveness, the receiving audience should be homophilous among its members, at least some of whom should also have heterophilous linkages to sources.[43] Heterophily in conjunction with homophily should be more conducive to social change. In fact, one hypothesized empirical statement, which was predicted counter to Proposition 2 and was supported, states that the more taboo the communication, the weaker the sociometric tie strength.[44] This statement is congruent with our earlier discussion. A fourth issue to consider is whether homophily or heterophily are to be considered phenomenologically, objectively, or both. Most of the research considered here has measured homophily or heterophily in an objective manner. Perhaps perceptual estimates of similarity or differences would be more powerful. An appropriate methodology for studying homophily-heterophily may be the use of metric multidimensional scaling to assess relative similarities and dissimilarities among communicators and attributes.[45]

Until further evidence is available, the relationship between heterophilous communication and change is uncertain, since only speculative explanations for the findings have been offered. Perhaps the most tenable position is that heterophily may evoke change, but that homophily on certain attributes is necessary in the receiving system for change to be implemented. At the individual level, heterophily of association may be the only step to be taken for change to be effected. However at the group and social system levels, certain individuals should have a minimal number of heterophilous channels of communication, and they in turn should have certain homophilous contacts which will ultimately implement the advocated change. These intermediaries are usually called opinion leaders, and are the central concern of Proposition 3.

3. The More Opinion Leadership, the More Social Change

Opinion leadership has a lengthy history in the literature of communication and social change. Opinion leaders are influentials who not only pass on information, but who are credible to their constituencies. A common definition of opinion leadership is: "The degree to which an individual is able to informally influence other individuals' attitudes or overt behavior in a desired way with relative frequency."[46] The concept of opinion leadership in the network analysis literature has been operationalized in a fairly consistent manner: "An individual's opinion leadership score is based on direct sociometric choices received from other group members in regard to a specific criterion...an individual's opinion leadership score is the number of sociometric relationships that the individual has with other group members whom he reported to have provided with information and advice on agricultural innovations."[47]

Opinion leadership is a characteristic of individuals within social systems who tend to not only link others, but to play a central role in the flow of information. Opinion leaders are also likely to be bridges or liaisons in the social structure. "Bridges are group members, who in addition to their predominance of within-group links, have one or more links with members in one or more other groups in the network. Liaisons are individuals who do not meet membership criteria for groups, yet have links to two or more groups."[48]

Some examples of the statements that relate opinion leadership to social change are: "The rate of technological diffusion in a social system is directly related to and affected by processes of interpersonal influence in which innovating leaders and early adopters influence those who have not adopted;"[49] and, "Leaders' modernization is directly related to the success of village programs of agricultural change."[50] The distribution of the available evidence which implies that opinion leadership leads to some kind of social change is presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3

EVIDENCE FOR PROPOSITION 3: THE MORE OPINION LEADERSHIP, THE MORE SOCIAL CHANGE

Source of Evidence / Level of Analysis	Empirical Literature				Non-empirical Literature Assertions		Non-empirical Literature Anecdotes Assumptions		Totals	
	Hypothesized Relations		Post-Hoc Relations							
	S	NS	S	NS	S	NS	S	NS	%	Freq.
Social System	23%	6%	29%	0%	6%	0%	27%	2%	93%	45
Group	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	1
Individual	0%	0%	2%	0%	2%	0%	2%	0%	6%	3
Totals (freq)	11 23%	3 6%	16 33%	0 0%	4 8%	0 0%	14 29%	1 2%	101%	49

S = Supportive
NS = Non-supportive

Forty-nine statements or 19% of the 262 statements are classified under Proposition 3. In this instance, the statements in literature are very scarce (only 8% of the 49 statements), but all of them are supportive. Those statements with empirical evidence constitute 62% of the total for Proposition 3. Of these, 56% are supportive and only 6% are non-supportive. Twenty-nine percent of all statements are empirically tested hypotheses, with 23% being supportive, and 6% non-supportive. Post-hoc empirical findings comprise 33% of the total, and all are supportive. Thirty-one percent of the statements for Proposition 3 are anecdotal; 29% are supportive and 2% non-supportive. Almost all (93%) of the evidence is at the social system level, with the rest scattered at the individual and group levels.

In summary, opinion leadership, across all types of evidence available, appears positively related to social change. However, the conditions under which sociometric opinion leadership is likely to bring about change must be examined in some detail.

3a. The More the Overlap of Informal and Formal Opinion Leadership, the More Social Change

When the opinion leaders selected by a community through sociometric choices are also incumbents of managerial/institutional roles, then change is more easily effected. The attention paid the formal leader is augmented because he/she is also informally central. Further, this type of "double" opinion leader links multiple parts of the system and plays the role of a bridge among various individuals and groups.

Given the small number of statements that underlie Proposition 3a, the evidence is discussed here, but is not presented in table form. Twelve statements were identified which suggest that overlapping formal and informal leadership roles are conducive to change. Some examples are: "The overlap of formal and informal leadership should facilitate change;"[51] and "The involvement of informal opinion leaders in the formal structure is positively related with the rate of adoption."[52] All 12 statements are in favor: one is supported by literature; two are empirically tested hypotheses; six are post-hoc empirical findings; and three are based on no evidence or anecdotal references. All but one are classified at the social system level. More research should be conducted which tests this proposition *a priori*, and particularly at the group and individual levels.

The implications of this proposition are strong for programs of planned change. Network analysis can be a useful tool in identifying opinion leaders in the informal structure, who could then be appointed to important positions in a formal structure dealing with family planning, agriculture, or other social change topics. If these double influentials so desire, their chances for sponsoring change seem to be high.

3b. The More Opinion Leadership Concentration, the More Traditional the Social System

Opinion leadership can be widely distributed, or it can be concentrated in a few key individuals who control the flow of information. Opinion leadership concentration is defined as: "Opinion leadership in a given social system will tend to be highly concentrated if only a few individuals are influential."[53] Opinion leadership concentration has usually been operationalized by the "Gini index of concentration calculated from the Lorenz curve."[54]

Four statements underlie this proposition, all at the social system level. Three of them are in favor of the proposition. One of the statements is a confirmed empirical hypothesis, the second is a rejected one, and the last two are post-hoc empirical findings. The lack of available evidence precludes making any definitive statements regarding the status of Proposition 3b. However, the supportive evidence somewhat outweighs the non-supportive evidence. It seems reasonable to expect that change in various aspects of social life would take place more easily where influence is dispersed than where there is a monopoly of information and social power. However, one would expect that the norms of the system would play an important role in determining the degree to which opinion leaders are in favor of change.

3c. The More Modern the Social System, the More Innovative the Opinion Leaders are When Compared with the Subgroup of Members

This proposition implies that when the system's norms favor change, influentials tend to be at the forefront. However, when the system's norms are traditional, the leader is distinguished by his/her conservatism. Proposition 3c is supported by four empirical statements at the social system level, all empirical, three hypothesized and one post-hoc.

3d. The More Specialized the Opinion Leaders, The More Modern the Social System

As opinion leaders in a community serve specific information needs, the system members will be more likely to accept change and adapt to it. The emergence of "specialized" opinion leaders represents a departure from traditional patterns in which the elders are institutionalized in a system to serve as the guides for action in almost every sphere of social life.[55] Specialized opinion leadership is termed "monomorphic," while general leadership is called "polymorphic." "Monomorphism is the tendency for an individual to act as an opinion leader for only one topic."[56] Polymorphism is the opposite — multi-topic opinion leadership. A sociometric operationalization of the concept is: "the sum of scores assigned to the relative degrees of weighted sociometric opinion leadership that an individual has across...criteria, plus the number of criteria in which the individual exerts opinion leadership influence."[57] Only three statements were identified as relevant to Proposition 3d. All statements are located at the social system level; one of them is a rejected empirical hypothesis, one is post-hoc and supportive, and one is a supportive anecdotal statement. The scarce evidence available leans toward support of the proposition, but more research is in order.

For the five propositions identified under Proposition 3, one can conclude that opinion leadership in a social system is a catalyst of change. It acts more effectively when the informal and formal leadership structures overlap, and when the norms of the system are transitional or modern, rather than traditional. Opinion leadership may help explain the findings in 1a and 1b above. Internal communication *per se* is less consistent a predictor of change than external communication. It was postulated that the interaction between external and internal communication may act as the mechanism that triggers social change. Opinion leadership, when the norms of the system favor change, may be the link that brings communication inputs from the outside and at the same time adds internal connectivity to the system in the fashion of a "two-step flow" of communication. Opinion leaders also may be the structural components that are homophilous on certain attributes to their followers, and heterophilous on other attributes such as competence. With respect to the outside system, opinion leaders may be homophilous on competence and heterophilous on the attributes that make them homophilous to their followers. This way, opinion leaders constitute true bridges between the outside and the inside of the system and among subsystems of the totality of the social structure of the community.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

The approach taken here is intended to clarify the theoretical statements in an emerging field. Two hundred and sixty-two propositional statements from 21 studies concerned with communication networks and social change in developing countries have been analyzed. Ten summary propositions that encompass all the studies have been identified, and the evidence available for them has been synthesized and classified. Three main issues in the literature guided our attempt to identify patterns of information relating social networks to social change: (1) amount and origin of the communication; (2) patterns of homophily-heterophily; and (3) patterns of opinion leadership. The statements identified in the literature were categorized in three dimensions: (1) support or non-support for a proposition, (2) the type of evidence cited for them, and (2) the level of analysis of the particular proposition.

Some interesting findings and speculations have been derived. First, when literature evidence, post-hoc empirical evidence, or anecdotal evidence for a statement was available, propositions tended to be generally supported. However, a different picture appeared in the case of hypothesized empirical tests of the same propositions, since confirmation was not the rule. These differences may well be the result of selectivity on the part of the author/researcher. There is a tendency in research to cite and report findings that confirm initial expectations. Unfortunately, this trend is responsible for the perpetuation of scientific myths. If generalizable at all, this finding alone, to the extent it exists, may serve as a word of caution for social scientists in this and other areas. Second, network analysis research, although not restricted by its nature to the study of complete social systems, has been almost exclusively utilized at this level. The understanding of change at subsystem levels (the group or the individual level) should become a priority area of investigation. Change is not likely to operate identically at the geographical social system level, the group level, and the individual level. Inputs, exchanges, rates, content, norms, and location are not necessarily the same at the three levels, and any such differences are important for a complete understanding of the phenomena. Third, some concluding statements are in order regarding the evidence for the 10 propositions that have been analyzed. The major weight of the evidence has been placed on results from hypothesized empirical tests. Table 4 summarizes this evidence.

TABLE 4

SUMMARY OF HYPOTHESIZED EMPIRICAL RESULTS

	Propositions									
LEVEL OF ANALYSIS	1	1a	1b	1c	2	3	3a	3b	3c	3d
Social System	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	?	+	–
Group	–	–	–	+	–					
Individual	–	–			–					

+ More confirmed than rejected
– More rejected than confirmed
? Uncertain status, equally rejected as confirmed
Blank No Evidence

At the social system level of analysis, communication in general, external communication, opinion leadership, the overlap of formal and informal opinion leadership, and the adherence of opinion leaders to the norms of a social system that favors change are all related to social change. At the group level, the available scant evidence indicates that external communication facilitates internal communication, without reference to social change. At the individual level, no conclusive findings can be offered.

These findings have important implications. Communication is a necessary factor for change to take place, but it is not a sufficient condition. When opinion leaders link the parts of a social system whose norms favor change, and external communication enters the social system through opinion leaders to the community, change is triggered. If opinion leaders have peer respect and are also formally appointed to positions from which change is to be implemented, they are likely to be successful. Communication from the outside also seems to initiate communication processes inside clique subsystems. Heterophily of association is not conducive to change by itself, but when there are opinion leaders who bridge the heterophily gap from the outside to the inside of a social system, the possibility for change to be facilitated is heightened. If the norms of a social system are negative towards change, then any effort to create change is likely to fail. This seems due to the tendency of informal opinion leaders to adhere to the norms of the system. In this case, the preliminary efforts towards social change should be directed at creating a new favorable generalized disposition towards change.

PROPOSED MULTIVARIATE MODEL

Given that the foundation for a set of potentially testable relationships linking networks and social change has been provided, the variables can be united into a testable multivariate model. Such a model allows for research on both the direct effects of one variable on another, and on the indirect effects. Further, the model expresses the total set of relationships described in the propositions, and hence is a mathematical portrayal that can be subjected to rigorous disconfirmation analysis. Finally, it can be replicated at different system levels. The model is derived following the rules of path analysis,[58] but the conventional symbols will not be used entirely in order to make the discussion easier to follow. Figure 1 presents a multivariate model, capable of being tested and hence of shedding light on the relationships that are included.

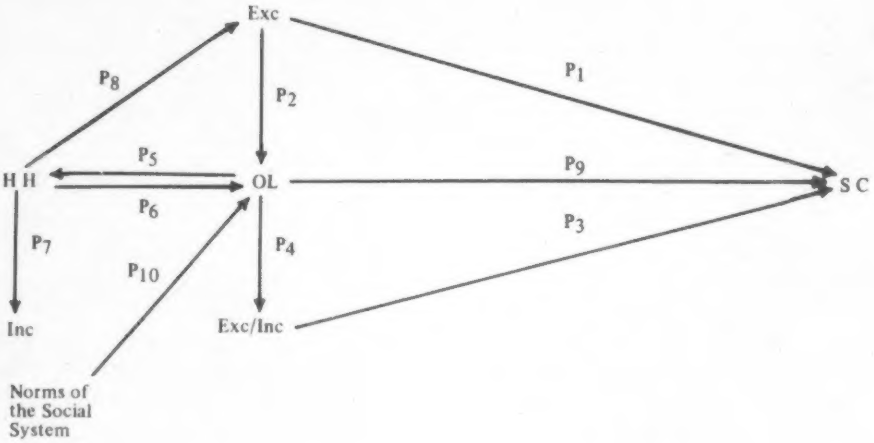

Figure 1. Multivariate Causal Model of Communication Networks and Social Change

External Communication (Exc); Internal Communication (Inc); Interaction between External and Internal Communication (Exc/Inc); Opinion Leadership (OL); Homophily-Heterophily (HH); Social Change; (SC).

First, it was noted that there seems to be a direct contribution of external communication to social change; this is represented in Figure 1 by path p1. Hence, system openness allows system members to adopt and implement changes. However, external communication also has an indirect effect on social change through opinion leadership in the system, because opinion leaders constitute bridges that import external information into their social milieu. This is represented by p2 in Figure 1. Internal communication, as represented by measures of integration and connectedness, does not seem to have a direct effect on social change. However, the interaction of internal and external communication seem to produce change as indicated by p3. The interaction of external and internal communication is made possible due to patterns of opinion leadership in the system, since opinion leaders import information from outside the system and provide connectivity to internal structures. This path is represented by p4.

The homophily-heterophily dimension has not been found to have a direct effect on social change, although the evidence on this point is less clear. However, homophily-heterophily should determine aspects of opinion leadership, and opinion leadership should influence the homophily-heterophily dimension, as illustrated by p5 and p6. Homophily-heterophily, on the other hand should have an effect on the amount and type of internal communication (p7) and on the amount and type of external communication (p8). This is because homophily has been consistently found to be related to interpersonal communication.[59] Opinion leadership was found to predict social change, especially when formal and informal leadership overlap, and when the norms of the system are conducive to change (p9). Finally, a path is needed to link the norms of the social system to the type of opinion leadership present in the system (p10).

It should be clear that the arrows only indicate an expected predictive path. Sound empirical data are needed to conduct a definitive test of the model. The path coefficients to be found will be "the fraction of the standard deviation of the dependent variable (with the approximate sign) for which the designated factor is directly responsible."[60] Path coefficients can be standardized partial regression coefficients of the effect of a set of variables on a dependent variable. Each coefficient expresses the "importance" of the path in the model.

The model is testable because there are more possible relationships than paths to be estimated, if one is willing to make the assumption that some of the covariances among the error terms are equal to zero. The error terms are not shown in the model; they are the errors of prediction that impinge on every endogenous variable in the system. The characteristic of models which specifies that there are more possible relationships than paths to be estimated is called overidentification. Overidentification, however, can constitute a nuisance since there is more than one plausible solution to the model.[61] The model presented here is non-recursive, i.e., it contains causal loops like the one composed by p2, p5, and p8, but the model is still solvable.[62]

Path analysis has the distinct advantage of allowing "one to examine the causal processes underlying the observed relationships and to estimate the relative importance of alternative paths of influence."[63] In addition, the possibility for examining indirect contributions through intervening variables is available. Firm support for the model as a whole would considerably strengthen the explanatory power of the entire set of propositions. Such an effort should be undertaken soon. Furthermore, one can possibly test the model at the three levels of analysis discussed in this paper (i.e., the social system, the group and the individual), and compare and contrast results across levels.

Future research into the role of structure in social change processes may also profitably explore perspectives other than the diffusionist one used here. A process of inner structural development may lead to social maturation, and this maturation may precisely be an inner mechanism for changeability. Societies in their struggle to adapt to their environment may develop functional and unique structures for advancement that do not necessarily fit the forms of change evolved in other societies. External inputs should continue to be studied, but more efficiently perhaps in their interaction with inner developmental processes over time.

NOTES

Felipe Korzenny is Assistant Professor and Richard V. Farace is Professor in the Department of Communication at Michigan State University. The authors wish to acknowledge the valuable comments and suggestions provided by Drs. Bradley S. Greenberg and Edward L. Fink.

[1] Richard P. Appelbaum, *Theories of Social Change*, (Chicago: Markham, 1970), pp. 56-57, 120; and Everett M. Rogers with F. Floyd Shoemaker, *Communication of Innovations: A Cross-Cultural Approach*, (New York: The Free Press, 1971).

[2] The attribution of a positive value in the use of "social change" is typical in the literature relating human networks to social change; however, the authors' focus is on *change* as affected by network processes, not on the value questions as to whether the change is "good."

[3] Clyde J. Mitchell, (ed.), *Social Networks in Urban Situations: Analysis of Personal Relationships in Central African Towns*, (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1969), p. 10.

[4] Everett M. Rogers, "Network Analysis of the Diffusion of Innovations," Paper presented at the Mathematical Social Science Board's Research Symposium on Social Networks, Hanover, New Hampshire, 1975.

[5] Richard V. Farace, Peter R. Monge and Hamish Russell, *Communicating and Organizing*, (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1977), p. 180.

[6] The 21 studies are cited fully in the Bibliography. For the sake of brevity here, their authors and year of publication are: Braun, 1975; Danowski, 1975 and 1976; Dirks, 1972; Guimaraes, 1972; Gutkind, 1965; Kincaid, 1972; Liu and Duff, 1972; Rao, 1966; Roling and Ascroft, 1970; Rogers, 1972 and 1975; Rogers and Bhowmik, 1971; Rogers, et al., 1972 and 1975; Sen and Bhowmik, 1970; Srinivas and Beteille, 1964; Stycos, 1952; Weintraub and Bernstein, 1966; Whitten, 1970; and Yadav, 1967.

[7] A few hypothesized empirical statements were found which were expressed in the direction *opposite* to the main propositions presented in this paper, and were confirmed. When these instances occur, they will be described in the text that follows each proposition.

[8] Rogers with Shoemaker, p. 28.

[9] James A. Danowski, "Communication Network Analysis and Social Change: Group Structure and Family Planning in Two Korean Villages," Paper presented for the East-West Communication Institute Summer Program of Advanced Study: Communication and Group Transformation for Development, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1975, p. 12.

[10] Farace, Monge and Russell, p. 186.

[11] Rogers, "Network Analysis of the Diffusion of Innovations," p. 28.

[12] Wilbur Schramm, *Mass Media and National Development*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964).

[13] Dharam P. Yadav, "Communication Structure and Innovation Diffusion in Two Indian Villages," technical report of Project on the Diffusion of Innovations in Rural Societies, a research project funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development, Michigan State University, Department of Communication, 1967, p. 74.

[14] Lytton Leite Guimaraes, *Communication Integration in Modern and Traditional Social Systems: A Comparative Analysis Across Twenty Communities of Minas Gerais, Brazil*, doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, Department of Communication, 1972, p. 97.

[15] Danowski, "Communication Network Analysis and Social Change," p. 37.

[16] Rogers with Shoemaker, pp. 30, 340-341.

[17] Rogers, "Network Analysis of the Diffusion of Innovations," pp. 13, 24.

[18] Danowski, "Communication Network Analysis and Social Change," p. 31.

[19] Everett M. Rogers, Hyung John Park, Kyong-Kyoon Chung, and Sea-Baick Lee, "Mother's Clubs in the Diffusion of Family Planning Ideas in Korean Villages: An Illustration of Network Analysis," Paper presented to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, New York, 1975, p. 25.

[20] Peter C.W. Gutkind, "Network Analysis and Urbanism in Africa: The Use of Micro and Macro Analysis," Paper read to the Anthropology and Sociology Chapter of The Canadian Political Science Association at its annual meeting, Vancouver, June, 1965, p. 126.

[21] Guimaraes, p. 159.

[22] James A. Danowski, "Environmental Uncertainty and Communication Network Complexity: A Cross-System, Cross-Cultural Test," Paper presented to annual meeting of the International Communication Association, Information Systems Division, Portland, Oregon, 1976, p. 7.

[23] N.G. Roling and J.R. Ascroft, "Success of Change Programs in Peasant Villages," in E.M. Rogers, J.R. Ascroft and N.C. Roling, (eds.), *Diffusion of Innovations in Brazil,*

Nigeria and India. Diffusion of Innovation Research Report 24 (summary), Michigan State University, Department of Communication, 1970, pp. 3-32.

[24] Y.V. Lakshmana Rao, *Communication and Development: A Study of Two Indian Villages,* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1966), p. 43.

[25] Appelbaum, p. 120.

[26] Applebaum, p. 56.

[27] Danowski, "Communication Network Analysis and Social Change," p. 39.

[28] Herbert L. Costner and Robert K. Leik, "Deductions From 'Axiomatic Theory'," in H.M. Blalock, Jr., (ed.), *Causal Models in the Social Sciences,* (Chicago: Aldine Atherton Inc., 1971), pp. 51-53.

[29] Danowski, "Environmental Uncertainty and Communication Network Complexity."

[30] Guimaraes, p. 96.

[31] Guimaraes, p. 141.

[32] Danowski, "Environmental Uncertainty and Communication Network Complexity," p. 17.

[33] Guimaraes, p. 159.

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HUMAN COMMUNICATION AND CROSS-CULTURAL EFFECTIVENESS

BRENT D. RUBEN

Little scholarly attention has been devoted to analysis of the problems and components of professional or vocational *effectiveness* in cross-cultural developmental settings. This paper approaches these transfer of skills issues from the perspective of communication. Research by the author indicating the role of particular interpersonal communication skills is summarized and some implications of this work are explored.

A great deal has been written about problems sojourners encounter as they strive to adapt to the demands and challenges of a new or different cultural environment.[1] A topic of no less importance to many persons whose professional or technical roles take them to new cultures is the question of how one functions effectively with individuals from other cultures in work and work-related contexts. Especially for the many Western advisors, technical personnel, and sponsoring governmental and private agencies involved in projects in Third World countries, such concerns are of increasing importance. This paper addresses this issue in a very basic manner from the perspective of human communication. To indicate the relevance of communication to problems of skills and knowledge transfer, a prototypical case study is presented. The case highlights some barriers to effective transfer-of-skills, and provides the foundation for a discussion of the professional sojourner as a teacher. Next, a summary of some recent research on the role of particular communication behaviors in cross-cultural effectiveness is presented. Finally, some implications and possible applications of these findings are explored.

A CASE STUDY

> Mr. S. has accepted a position as an advisor in a Third-world country. He will be working directly with Mr. Akwagara, a national. Together they will have administrative responsibility for their project. Mr. S is eager to arrive at his post. His work experience in the U.S. seems exceptionally well-suited to the task he must accomplish in his post in the developing country, and his high level of motivation and record of consistently superior achievement reassures him — and those who selected him — that he will encounter little he can't handle in his assignment.
>
> After having been on the job for several weeks, Mr. S is experiencing considerable frustration. To S, it appears that Akwagara and most of the subordinates lack both training and motivation. On a number of occasions S has endeavored to point out to Akwagara, tactfully, that his practices are both inefficient and ineffective. Akwagara's responses seemed to S to indicate total indifference. On one occasion, S suggested that he and Akwagara get together one evening for a few drinks, thinking that in an informal setting he might be more successful in making Akwagara aware of some of these problems. The two went out together, but nearly every effort to bring up the work situation by S was followed by Akwagara changing the subject to unrelated chatter about family and friends.

> The problem became increasingly severe in the weeks that followed. It seemed to S the only way he could get the job done he was sent to do, was to do most of it by himself. Gradually, he assumed more and more of the responsibilities which had been previously performed by Akwagara. Though he feels some concern about this situation from time to time, these feelings are more than compensated for by the knowledge that he is getting the job done which he was sent to do.

Consider the question, is S succeeding or failing? The answer, of course, depends largely upon how one defines the role of the sojourner. If one takes the point of view that the task of the sojourner consists solely of getting the job done, we would probably conclude that S is functioning effectively. Viewed from another perspective, one cannot help but conclude that the advisor has failed sadly. The job is being done at the cost of successful transfer-of-skills. Probable consequences of his approach include the alienation of Akwagara, a loss of credibility for Akwagara among his subordinates he must supervise after S departs, and reinforcement of the view that Western advisors are insensitive, ego-centric, and not sincerely interested in the welfare of the host country or nationals.

For S, the sponsoring agency, and the country, the consequence is a failure to be able to share knowledge and skills meaningfully. The ultimate tragedy is that S, with the best of intentions and motives, may in fact spend two years of his life believing that he is functioning as the ideal advisor. All the while, he may actually contribute to forces which retard the process of growth, change, and development in his project and in the country as a whole. As this case, and a number of writings and research well indicate, the ability to satisfactorily understand and relate to others in a cross-cultural setting is probably the single most critical ingredient necessary to an advisor's success, and essential if one is to translate their own skills and knowledge into the idiom of the culture.

THE SOJOURNER AS TEACHER

In conceptualizing the role of the sojourner or technical advisor in terms of the effective transfer-of-skills, it seems useful to think broadly of the role as one of teacher. A teacher, after all, is a person who possesses particular knowledges and skills he or she wishes to impart to others. There are two distinct components of teaching — at least of effective teaching. First, the teacher must have an appropriate mastery of skills and knowledge in his or her field. Secondly, the teacher must be able to package and deliver those understandings to other persons in such a way that they will be able to accept, utilize, and integrate them. For the sojourner, these same components are crucial.

With regard to most technical advisors selected for overseas postings, the first component is well satisfied. Whether selected for an assignment to assist with the installation of a computer or electronic communication systems, the development of educational, governmental, agricultural, economic, or industrial policy, or any of a number of other less technical positions, job related competencies are seldom a problem. The second ingredient necessary for effectiveness of the sojourner is a set of skills and knowledge totally unrelated to the job. These skills and understandings have to do with communication, and research and reports from the field indicate that such capabilities are even more critical to the success of an advisor and a project than his or her job skills. For convenience, one can refer to this needed set of skills as *communication competence.*[2] If job or role competence is the ability to complete a task efficiently, communication competence is the ability to effectively relate to other persons in the process. Achieving an integration of the two is important in the short and long run, and from both idealistic and practical points of view.

The importance of communication to effective cross-cultural functioning is well illustrated by the case of Mr. S. As a member of a Western culture, it is likely that to Mr. S time and money are important criteria for success; he may well view wealth and power as essential to the solution of most problems, consider democratic or majority rule as the appropriate form of governance, revere technology, regard competition as good and winning an important goal. He likely values material possessions, the scientific method, efficiency, organization, specialization, and a clear separation between work and leisure. In his communication style, he is likely to be reasonably aggressive, direct, impatient, self-assured, and to regard business as the topic of major importance in most of his interactions, attaching a lesser value to discussion of family and personal matters.

Depending upon Akwagara's cultural background, he is likely to have a quite different communicational framework. For him speed and efficiency may be irrelevant or negative values. Material possessions, competition and winning may be regarded with far less concern, and he may view extended family relationships as the primary source of power and status. The democratic model, technology, progress, and western development may be viewed with cynicism and suspicion. Conditions of living may be regarded primarily as inevitable consequences of manifest destiny, leaving little room for individual initiative or impact. Work and leisure may well be blended, and he may be little concerned with systematic, or efficient organization, or specialization. In discussions, Akwagara may well be relatively passive, indirect, patient, and will likely place a much higher priority on the topic of family and friends, than upon business. He may also be accustomed to standing or sitting close to persons he is talking to, and to numerous gestures involving frequent physical contact. In such an instance, the two individuals have a great many barriers to overcome if either is to understand with much accuracy the words and actions of the other.

RELEVANT RESEARCH

There has been considerable research effort directed toward identifying communication behaviors which contribute to effectiveness within one's own culture. Wiemann[3] identified three main schools of thought about face-to-face interaction. The first he characterized as the human relations or T-group approach, typified by the work of Argyris,[4] Bochner and Kelly,[5] and Holland and Baird.[6] The second orientation, the social skill approach, is reflected especially in the work of Argyle and Kendon,[7] and the third is essentially a self-presentation approach suggested in the work of Goffman,[8] Rodnick and Wood,[9] and Weinstein.[10]

Though attempts to consider how these approaches generalize to cross-cultural interpersonal situations have been few, a number of researchers such as Arensberg and Niehoff;[11] Barna;[12] Brislin and Pedersen;[13] Gudykunst, Hammer, and Wiseman;[14]

Bochner;[15] Cleveland and Mangone;[16] and others[17] have suggested certain personal characteristics and/or skills thought to be crucial to effectiveness in such contexts. A synthesis of findings suggested in intra- and inter-cultural writings yields some consensus. For those concerned particularly with communication, a number of such behaviors seem important. Seven of these are: (1) capacity to communicate respect; (2) capacity to be nonjudgmental; (3) capacity to personalize one's knowledge and perceptions; (4) capacity to display empathy; (5) capacity to be flexible; (6) capacity for turn-taking; and (7) tolerance for ambiguity.

Research was undertaken by Ruben and Kealey[18] to determine the relative importance of these communication behaviors to cross-cultural effectiveness. The findings from in-the-field research suggest that an avoidance of extreme *task, self-centered,* and *judgmental behavior* — in that order — contribute most to effective transfer-of-skills. A *tolerance for ambiguity, the ability to display respect,* and a *personal orientation to knowledge,* are next in importance in cross-cultural effectiveness, followed by *empathy* and *turn-taking.* In the following sections, these communication dimensions will be discussed and their relationship to effective transfer-of-skills briefly explored.

TASK AND RELATIONAL BEHAVIOR

Roles, how they are enacted, and the impact they have, have been a concern to intra- and inter-cultural researchers alike.[19] Individuals function in a variety of roles within interpersonal, group, and organizational settings. Behaviors that involve the initiation of ideas, requests for information, seeking of clarification, evaluation of ideas, etc., are directly related to the group's task or problem-solving activities. Behaviors that involve harmonizing, mediation, gatekeeping, attempts to regulate the evenness of contribution of group members, compromising, etc., are related to the relationship-building activities of a group.

Some situations seem to call for an intense concern for "getting the job done." Other situations call for building group cohesiveness, encouraging participation, and making certain no one feels excluded from involvement. Westerners seem to learn to focus mostly on the former, and are typically not much concerned about how involved people feel in the process, how much group or organizational solidarity develops, how people value the products of their effort, etc. But as indicated previously, the transfer-of-skills requires not only getting a job done, but also the competence to get it done in such a way that people feel a part of the completed project and have learned something from witnessing the process. Research suggests strongly that too much concern for getting the job done can lead to failure in terms of effectiveness at skills-transfer.[20]

Here, the Akwagara case provides an excellent illustration. Mr. S has apparently mastered the skills often demanded for success in Western occupational roles. His style, appropriate to his own cultural background, is one of fast-paced problem-solving. Yet, in a developmental context, the very skills which were perhaps critical to his selection as a cross-cultural professional, may become a liability in a culture where rapid-fire problem-solving is less valued. From such a cultural perspective, S may well be viewed as impatient, over-zealous, insensitive, and lacking concern for people. The consequences of such a response may well be to foster feelings of resentment toward S, and thereby render his technical skills totally useless, and preclude effectiveness at transfer-of-skills.

SELF-ORIENTED BEHAVIORS

Other role behaviors sometimes displayed by individuals in an interpersonal context are individualistic or self-centered behaviors that function in negative ways from a group's perspective. Behaviors such as being highly resistant to ideas of others, returning to issues and points of view previously acted upon and/or dismissed by the group, attempting to call attention to oneself, seeking to project a highly positive personal image by noting achievements and professional qualifications, and attempting to manipulate the group by asserting authority, are dysfunctional in intracultural as well as in intercultural contexts.

While the S case makes no reference to what might be thought of as self-centered communicative behavior, research conducted by Ruben and Kealey suggests that such behavior patterns toward persons in one's own culture are a good predictor of potential problems at successful interaction with persons from differing cultures.

NON-JUDGMENTALNESS

People like to feel that what they say is not being judged by someone else without having been given an opportunity to fully explain themselves and be sincerely listened to. When persons find themselves being interrupted before having finished speaking, or notice that someone is nodding in disagreement even before they have finished presenting their thoughts, barriers to effective relating are set in place. The likelihood of teaching or transferring skills in such a setting is greatly lessened.[22] Ideally, one would strive to avoid passing judgments on what others have to say until one has enough information to be fairly certain that his or her evaluations will be based on a reasonably complete understanding of the other's point of view. When a person believes they have been fully and attentively listened to, they are generally much more receptive to hearing reactions — whether positive or negative. In addition to being of use in improving the fidelity of information transmission, nonevaluative postures seem likely to increase the receiver's regard for the source of nonevaluative messages, and thereby improves the quality of the relationship.

Again, with S and Akwagara, it isn't clear from the information presented whether or not S was non-judgmental or not. One may infer, however, that had S invested a bit more effort in listening to and trying to understand Akwagara's viewpoint, some of the problems might have been alleviated. Apart from the case, it is interesting to note that persons who are non-judgmental with others in their own culture will often be more effective in cross-cultural skills transfer than persons who are highly judgmental.[23]

TOLERANCE FOR AMBIGUITY

The ability to react to new and ambiguous situations with little visible discomfort can be an important asset when adapting to a new environment. Although most people probably do react with some degree of personal discomfort to new environments, some seem more able to adjust quickly to those around them. Excessive discomfort resulting from being placed in a new or different environment — or from finding the familiar environment altered in some critical ways — can lead to confusion, frustration, or even hostility. This may well be dysfunctional to the development of effective interpersonal relations within and across cultural boundaries. Colleagues and would-be friends — as with Akwagara — may easily become the unwitting and misplaced targets of verbal hostility during periods of adjustment; and while the frustrations are often short-lived, the feelings about the sojourner that they may have initiated, might not be. Learning to manage the feeling of frustration associated with ambiguity can thus be critical to effective adaptation in a new environment.[24] It is likely that a bit greater tolerance for ambiguity and tolerance for the lack of control one feels in a new environment would have aided S substantially in his efforts to integrate himself successfully into his new situation.

DISPLAY OF RESPECT

The ability to express respect and positive regard for another person has been suggested as an important component in effective interpersonal relations within and between cultures.[25] The expression of respect can be expected to confer status upon the recipient, contribute to self-esteem, and foster positive regard for the source of the communicated respect. People like to feel that others respect them, their accomplishments, their beliefs, and what they have to say. If one is able, through gestures, eye gaze, smiles, and words of encouragement, to indicate to others that he or she is sincerely interested in them, they are much more likely to respond positively to the person and what he or she has to say. In the case study, listening to Akwagara carefully, attentively, and encouragingly as he discussed family and friends, and reciprocating in kind, would have been an important means for S to have communicated his respect, and to begin to establish a strong foundation for an effective relationship — one which would be productive and satisfying on a day-to-day basis, and one which would facilitate the transfer of S's skills and knowledge, as he has intended.

PERSONALIZING KNOWLEDGE AND PERCEPTIONS

Different people explain themselves and the world around them in different terms. Some people tend to view their knowledge and perceptions as valid only for them; others tend to assume that their beliefs, values, and perceptions are valid for everyone. Presumably, the more a person recognizes the extent to which knowledge is individual in nature, the more easily he or she will be able to adjust to other people in other cultures whose views of what is "true" or "right" are likely to be quite different.

People who recognize that their values, beliefs, attitudes, knowledge, and opinions are their own — and not necessarily shared by others — often find it easier to form productive relationships, than persons who believe they know *The Truth*, and strive to "sell" their own perceptions, knowledge, skills and values to others. If a person often begins sentences with phrases like "I think" or "I feel" or "In my own experience..." chances are he or she is aware more of the personal nature of their knowledge and values than if they are using introductions like "Africans tend to be..." or "Americans are..." or "Canadians believe..." Among persons whose ideas of what is *True* and *Right* differ dramatically from that to which you've become accustomed, it is useful to keep in mind that one's beliefs, knowledge, and attitudes are products of their own experiences. Remembering also that one's "truths" may bear little in common to those of others — gives one an important advantage as a teacher.

It is in this area where S was perhaps weakest. He unwittingly assumed his job description, his timetable, his mode of operating, his distinctions between work and family, his definitions of "idle chatter," and so on, were in fact *the* understandings — ones which Akwagara *must* certainly share. The results are rather clear in the case study, as in so many other instances of relational problems with persons working within as well as across cultural boundaries.

DISPLAYING EMPATHY

The capacity to "put oneself in another's shoes," or to behave as if one could, has been often suggested as important to the development and maintenance of positive human relationships within and between cultures.[26] Individuals differ in their ability to display empathy. Some people are able to project an interest in others clearly and seem able to obtain and reflect a reasonably complete and accurate sense of another's thoughts, feelings, and/or experiences. Others may lack interest, or fail to display interest, and may be unable to project even superficial understanding of another's situation.

Many people are attracted to individuals who seem to be able to understand things from "their point of view." Certainly, since each individual has a unique set of past experiences, it is not possible to totally put oneself "in someone elses's shoes." Through care in listening and observing, and with a sincere and dilligent effort to understand the other person's communicational framework, one can, however, achieve some degree of empathy, a critical ingredient for effective teaching. Had Mr. S devoted more effort to establishing this sort of understanding of Akwagara, and had he been successful in reflecting the resulting awareness in his words and actions, many of the difficulties he encountered could have been avoided.

TURN-TAKING

People vary in the manner in which they "manage" (or fail to manage) interactions of which they are a part.[27] Some are skillful at governing their contribution to an interactive situation so that the needs and desires of others play a critical role in defining how the exchange will proceed. Effective management of interaction is displayed through taking turns in discussion and initiating and terminating interaction based on a reasonably accurate assessment of the needs and desires of others. Other individuals are less proficient at these dimensions and proceed in interactions with little or no regard for time sharing, and initiation and termination preferences of others. It is almost too obvious to note that people enjoy having an opportunity to take turns in discussion. This suggests strongly the need to avoid monopolizing conversations, and conversely, to resist the temptation to refuse to share responsibility for even participation. This simple factor is important to how one is perceived in one's own culture, as well as in other cultures, where reciprocity in discussion can serve to indicate interest in, and concern for, the other person.

SUMMARY

It has been the intention of the foregoing to provide a basic framework for discussing the role of communication in cross-cultural effectiveness. In simplifying these processes for purposes of discussion, there is the risk of neglecting important questions. Perhaps the most crucial of these has to do with the difficulty of generalizing findings from studies of one or two cultures to other cultures. The studies summarized in the last section of this article, for example, were concerned with Canadian technical personnel who worked in various jobs in Kenya. On the basis of these and other studies noted, we can speculate that the findings are likely relevant for "Westerners" working with individuals from the so-called "developing" countries. Presumably, highly aggressive problem-solving behaviors would carry the same risks of ineffectiveness in many of the countries in Latin America, as in Kenya or other African countries, but further research is needed to verify these relationships.

There is another problem related to generalizing the research findings such as those discussed here. While one can argue that the *importance* of communication behaviors such as empathy, respect, nonjudgmentalness, etc., transcends cultural boundaries, the way these are *expressed and interpreted* may vary substantially from one culture (or one subculture) to another. Thus, while prolonged eye contact or head nodding may well be a sign of respect in one culture, it may be interpreted in quite another — perhaps even in an opposite — way in other cultures. A final caution has to do with the difference between *knowing* and *doing*. Even within one's own culture, knowing that one *ought to be* respectful or empathic or nonjudgmental does not guarantee that one will be able to perform the behavior, even with good intentions.

For persons who will work in cross-cultural situations, these three issues have a number of implications. The central theme that emerges from studies discussed in this paper is the need to be alert and sensitive to the needs, orientations, values, aspirations, and particularly communication styles of other persons with whom one interacts. One needs to know how respect, empathy, non-judgmentalness, turn-taking, orientation to knowledge, and group and organizational roles are *regarded* and *expressed* in a given culture. Of equal or greater importance to effectiveness at transfer of skills is the willingness to be introspective, and committed to see, to examine, and to learn from one's failures and weaknesses as well as one's successes and strengths. Only in this way can one's behavior be brought into congruence with what one believes and intends.

For those persons involved in cross-cultural training and selection, aspects of the studies discussed in this paper have important implications. First, findings underscore the importance of interpersonal communication skills to cross-cultural effectiveness, suggesting a need to attend more closely to interpersonal communication skills in selection and training. Secondly, the research indicates the usefulness of a person's communication behavior in his or her own culture as a predictor of his or her communication behavior in another culture. This seems to suggest a need in effectiveness training and research for relatively more attention to the individual, and perhaps relatively less attention to inherent differences between cultures. Thirdly, the discussion focuses attention on the difference between knowing and doing, underscoring the importance of training which is directed relatively more toward behavioral effectiveness and relatively less toward theoretical and verbal mastery.

Each of these issues would seem to merit additional attention by researchers, as well. Perhaps most importantly, more study is needed to identify additional communication behaviors which may be significant for cross-cultural effectiveness. Further, research is needed to identify those communication behaviors which best generalize to a large number of cross-cultural situations. Such studies will serve to further strengthen the theoretical and pragmatic link between human communication and cross-cultural effectiveness suggested in this article.

NOTES

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[1] See C. M. Arensberg and A. H. Niehoff, *Introducing Social Change: A Manual for Community Development* (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1971); R. B. Brislin and P. Pedersen, *Cross-Cultural Orientation Programs* (New York: Gardner Press, 1976); J. Gullahorn and J. Gullahorn, "An Extension of the U-Curve Hypothesis," *Journal of Social Issues*, 19, No. 3 (1963), 33-47; E. T. Hall, *The Silent Language* (New York: Doubleday, 1959); and K. Oberg, "Culture Shock: Adjustment to New Cultural Environments," *Practical Anthropology*, 7 (1960), 177-182.

[2] Systematic efforts to conceptualize "effective, *"successful,"* or "competent" communication behavior have been relatively few in number. The notion of communication competence — used interchangeably with communication effectiveness — is discussed in this paper as a dyadic concept. For a particular interaction to be termed effective, or a person to be termed competent, the performance must meet the needs and goals of both the message initiator and the recipient. The term communication competence, as used in this paper, is based on the work of John Wiemann, who credits E. A. Weinstein as the originator of the term. See Brent D. Ruben, "The Machine Gun and the Marshmallow: Some Thoughts on the Concept of effective Communication," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the WesternSpeech-Communication Association, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1972; and John M. Wiemann, "An Exploration of Communication Competence in Initial Interactions: An Experimental Study," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Purdue University (1975).

[3] John M. Wiemann (1975) provides an excellent summary and discussion of these orientations.

[4] C. Argyris, "Explorations in Interpersonal Competence — 1," *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* (1965), 58-63.

[5] A. P. Bochner and C. W. Kelley, "Interpersonal Competence: Rationale,

Philosophy, and Implementation of a Conceptual Framework," *Speech Teacher*, 23, (1974), 279-301.

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[7] M. Argyle and A. Kendon, "The Experimental Analysis of Social Performance," *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 3, (1967), 55-98.

[8] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1959); *Behavior in Public Places* (New York: Free Press, 1963); *Interaction Ritual* (Garden City: Anchor, 1967).

[9] R. Rodnick and B. Wood, "The Communication Strategies of Children," *Speech Teacher*, 22, (1973), 114-124.

[10] E. A. Weinstein, "Toward a Theory of Interpersonal Tactics," In C. W. Backman and P. F. Secord (Eds.), *Problems in Social Psychology*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966); "The Development of Interpersonal Competence," In D. A. Goslin (Ed.) *Handbook of Socialization and Research* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969).

[11] Arensberg and Niehoff (1971).

[12] L. Barna, "Stumbling Blocks in Interpersonal Intercultural Communication." In David Hoopes, (Ed.), *Readings in Intercultural Communication*, Vol. 1, (1972).

[13] R. W. Brislin and P. Pedersen, *Cross-Cultural Orientation Programs* (New York: Gardner Press, 1976).

[14] W. B. Gudykunst, M. Hammer and W. B. Wiseman, "Determinants of the Sojourner's Attitudinal Satisfaction," In *Communication Yearbook 1*, B. Ruben (Ed.) (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction-International Communication Association, 1977).

[15] S. Bochner, "The Mediating Man and Cultural Diversity," *Topics in Culture Learning*, 1, (1973), 23-37.

[16] H. Cleveland, and G. J. Mangone (Eds.), *The Art of Overseasmanship* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1957); and H. Cleveland, G. J. Mangone, and J. C. Adams, *The Overseas Americans* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960).

[17] A review of writings on cross-cultural effectiveness is provided by Brent D. Ruben, Lawrence R. Askling, and Daniel J. Kealey in "Cross-Cultural Effectiveness," in *Overview of Intercultural Education, Training and Research*, Vol. 1: Theory, David S. Hoopes, Paul B. Pedersen, and George W. Renwick, (Eds.) (Washington, D.C.: Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research, 1977), 92-105.

[18] The results discussed herein are based on a two-year study conducted in Canada and Kenya by Brent D. Ruben and Daniel J. Kealey, presented in preliminary form at the Third Annual Conference of the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and

Research (Chicago: 1977) in a report entitled "Behavioral Assessment and the Prediction of Cross-Cultural Shock, Adjustment, and Effectiveness."

[19] K. Benne and P. Sheats, "Functional Roles of Group Members," *Journal of Social Research*, 4, (1948).

[20] See discussion in Ruben and Kealey (1977).

[21] Ruben and Kealey.

[22] See Arensberg and Niehoff (1971); Barna (1972); Brislin and Pedersen (1976); and Gudykunst, *et. al.*, (1977).

[23] Ruben, Askling and Kealey (1977); Discussions of the role of this dimension in cross-cultural interaction is provided in P. S. Adler, "Beyond Cultural Identity: Reflections Upon Cultural and Multicultural Man," In *Topics in Culture Learning*, Vol. 2, (1974), 23-41, and P. S. Adler, "The Transitional Experience: An Alternative View of Culture Shock," In the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, Vol. 15, No. 3, (1975).

[24] Aitken, T., *The Multinational Man: The Role of the Manager Abroad* (New York: Wiley, 1973) and G. M. Guthrie and I. N. Zektick, "Predicting Performance in the Peace Corps," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 71, (1967), 11-21.

[25] See R. R. Carkhuff, *Helping and Human Relations* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1969) and Arensberg and Niehoff (1971).

[26] See R. R. Carkhuff (1969); Cleveland, *et. al.* (1960); and Gudykunst, *et. al.*, (1977).

[27] John M. Wiemann and Mark L. Knapp, "Turn-Taking in Conversations," *Journal of Communication*, 25, No. 2 (1975).

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE

BEYOND CULTURE. By Edward T. Hall. Garden City: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1976, pp. 256, $7.95. Paper $2.95.

Edward T. Hall has raised public consciousness about cultural components such as space and time, and their relationship to other better-known cultural concepts. While Hall has provided a more thorough understanding of culture and cultures, his writings have also created many unwarranted assumptions and generalizations because of their anecdotal nature and limited samples. *Beyond Culture* shares these assets and liabilities. It is interesting, stimulating, and provacative, and causes one to reflect on many new and important ways of perceiving culture. At the same time, it is filled with semi-informative notions and dogmatic pronouncements which lack even a perfunctory attempt to provide reasoned or documented justification.

When a scholar achieves the academic and popular following that Hall has achieved, his reputation provides its own ethos for statements that might seem more absurd when proposed by a less well-known writer on cultural anthropology. It seems evident that Hall bases many of his speculations and assumptions on an intuitive logic, which he praises as practiced among Oriental peoples, rather than on the inductive logic more familiar to Western social, behavioral, and pure scientists. Indeed, Hall acknowledges that his own experiences in and out of academic life cause him to think differently about anthropology than other leaders in the field. That his approaches to anthropology differ from the mainstream is not necessarily a criticism, if one accepts the value of intuitive logic for its own sake.

Hall introduces the volume by indicating that two major crises confront contemporary people: the population/environment crisis and humanity's relationship to human attributes. Although some pessimistic strains are introduced throughout, the book is far more optimistic about the relationship of the human species to culture that can be seen from authors such as B. F. Skinner, Jules Henry or Jacques Ellul. Thematically, Hall develops the unconscious hold which culture has on humanity through extensions, hidden culture, rhythm and body movement, high and low contexts, situational contexts as cultural building blocks, covert culture and action chains that are set into motion, the role of imagery and memory, culture's role on human and primate bases of education, culture as an irrational force, and finally culture as identification. Hall concludes, somewhat weakly, that "Possibly the most important psychological aspect of culture — the bridge between culture and personality — is the identification process. . . . Man must now embark on the difficult journey beyond culture, because the greatest separation feat of all is when one manages to gradually free oneself from the grip of unconscious culture." If the forces of culture are as strong as Hall indicates, one wonders whether it is genuinely possible to break these bonds, especially since Hall's description of the bonds is much more forcefully related than how to break them. It would seem that Hall more ably presents the problem than the solution.

The book is required reading for the scholar/teacher of intercultural communication because we tend to read too few books by cultural anthropologists and, more importantly, because Hall recognizes that communication is explicitly linked to the study of culture. While the importance of communication is stressed consistently throughout the book, Hall also places special emphasis on its role in covert culture, as body movement, through synchrony, kinesics, nonverbal codes, its importance in establishing context for culture, and its fundamental relationship to language in general and languages specifically. Even though many of his examples are personal anecdotes rather than genuine field studies with stated hypotheses, his own previous experiences with the Southwest American native peoples offer very interesting comparisons with mainline cultures of the United States and Northern Europe.

As mentioned earlier, these anecdotes and personal experiences sometimes lead Hall to what appear to be overstated conclusions and unwarranted assumptions which cannot be generalized to whole subcultural or cultural groups. Contrasting American, German-Swiss, German and Scandinavian as low-context cultures with the Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and the Chinese-speaking Vietnamese as high-context cultures, Hall makes a series of generalizations that would seem questionable to those involved in linguistics. Finally, he indicates that, to his knowledge, no low-context communication system has ever been an art form. Hall argues that good art is always high-context while bad art is low-context. In these statements, he misses the point that many graphic artists use the basic lettering systems of many of the Indo-European written languages and produce very high-context expressions of art. At the same time, many Chinese writers use their ideographic writing in the most utilitarian ways and without the least attempt at artistic embellishment. All these various assumptions contain partial, but rarely full, justification.

Beyond Culture is a significant contribution to the study of cultural anthropology and intercultural communication. An important member of the academic community, who also has a large popular following, Hall has provided us with thoughtful development of his own views toward contemporary humanity and its relationships to culture. Many new insights have been offered which should stimulate our own thinking about culture and communication. Still, the reader should remember that many assumptions offered by the author need further testing before accepting them without qualification or reservation.

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CROSS-CULTURAL ORIENTATION PROGRAMS. By Richard W. Brislin and Paul Pedersen. New York: Gardner Press, Inc., 1976, pp. xiv+223, $14.50.

This book deals with cross-cultural orientation programs designed to teach members of one culture ways of interacting effectively, with minimum interpersonal misunderstanding, in another culture. Brislin and Pedersen suggest that cross-cultural orientation programs can be an extremely useful part of a longer term cross-cultural educational experience. In addition to the field of education, cross-cultural orientation programs can be beneficial to many audiences including multinational corporations, governmental agencies, bilingual education programs within a country, and international tourism. The book provides a review of the available literature on a wide variety of cross-cultural orientation programs.

The volume consists of six chapters. The first chapter introduces some basic assumptions and major concepts underlying the idea of cross-cultural orientation and training. In the second chapter, the authors review various cross-cultural orientation models such as the intellectual model, human relations training model, intercultural communication workshop, the case study simulation, the cross-cultural coalition training model, the National Training Laboratory T-Group model, roles as cultures model, and the reinforcement-behavioral model of training. The next chapter reviews a number of cross-cultural orientation programs that have been put into practice. Authors have drawn from many types of organizations that have been involved in cross-cultural training including the Peace Corps, the military, business, industry, colleges and universities, state-wide boards of education, and mental health agencies.

The fourth chapter contains descriptions of various audiences which might be the target of various cross-cultural orientation programs. The potential audiences discussed in the chapter include multinational corporations, government agencies, foreign students in the United States, United States students and faculty abroad, mental health service agencies, tourists, foreign missions, bilingual education programs, and field workers in the social and behavioral sciences. The fifth chapter covers various aspects of evaluation of cross-cultural orientation programs. The last chapter contains guidelines on the planning details of organizing a cross-cultural orientation program.

The book has many strong points. First, it attempts to fulfill a long recognized need for a systematic review of various aspects of cross-cultural orientation including basic assumptions, theoretical concepts and models, actual orientation programs, and program evaluation. The scope of the orientation models and programs reviewed is another positive feature. Types of orientation models and programs which are reviewed range from the intellectual model utilized by colleges and universities around the country to training programs used by the military, multinational corporations, and the Peace Corps. Drawing from the extremely diverse literature, much of which is available only in limited-distribution technical reports otherwise known as "fugitive materials," Brislin and Pedersen have tried to highlight what they consider to be especially good and applicable in programs designed to achieve various goals. Another positive feature is the thorough discussion of potential audiences which might be the target of cross-cultural orientation and training programs. Again, the range and diversity of potential audiences discussed is impressive. In addition to the classic audience of persons planning to live abroad for a long period of time, the authors discuss audiences "very close to home" such as mental health workers, bilingual-bicultural education programs, tourists, and field workers in the social and behavioral sciences. Finally, the book provides a very thorough discussion of the evaluation of cross-cultural orientation programs. Program evaluation is rarely covered in descriptions and discussions of cross-cultural training. Brislin and Pedersen strongly believe in the value of program evaluation and therefore have devoted a separate chapter to program evaluation including the qualities of a good evaluation, measures of program outcome, and various designs for evaluation.

While *Cross-Cultural Orientation Programs* is a useful contribution, it does have some weak points. First, there is very little discussion of intercultural communication theory and research relevant to cross-cultural orientation programs. During the last few years there has been considerable work in the area of intercultural communication which has direct relevance to the problems of cross-cultural interaction and adjustment, and thus is useful for cross-cultural orientation programs. Unfortunately, there is very little discussion of the relevant concepts and principles of intercultural communication. Another weakness is the fact that the book is limited to cross-cultural orientation programs conducted in the American cultural settings. This limits the *cross-cultural* usefulness of the models and programs suggested by the authors. Finally, the authors make no attempt to suggest areas which need further theoretical or empirical work. Given that the authors have reviewed the available literature on cross-cultural orientation programs, it seems that they were in a unique position to identify future research needs and to suggest some directions for further theoretical and research work in the area of cross-cultural orientation. The authors could have made a valuable contribution to the area of intercultural communication by indicating the needs and directions for further research concerning the orientation and training aspects of cross-cultural interaction. Despite these few shortcomings, *Cross-Cultural Orientation Programs* is a very useful and significant contribution to the literature of intercultural communication.

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CROSSING DIFFERENCE: INTER-RACIAL COMMUNICATION. By Jon A. Blubaugh and Dorthy L. Pennington. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1976, pp. 102, $2.95.

The writing of a book review is an experience that one often approaches with ambivalent feelings. We welcome the opportunity to offer applause and approval, but find the task of evaluating and criticizing one's peers a somewhat distasteful chore. For most of us detect a little truth in Pollock's observation that "a critic is a legless man who teaches running." I fear the book by Blubaugh and Pennington justifies this ambivalence, for both praise and criticism are warranted.

The authors predicate their book on the assumption that interracial contact is unavoidable and "crucial," and "that everyone should have a basic introduction to the dynamics of interracial communication." To that end they advance nine chapters that are "aimed at the introductory and practical level." The first chapter is devoted to a discussion of key concepts and assumptions that serve as the "focus and premise of the book." In the second chapter the authors review some existing models and then present an original "Cross-Difference Model" of interracial communication. This model is quite effective in that it performs two functions simultaneously. First, the authors maintain that the six factors contained in the model (racism, power, assumptions, language, nonverbal language, and beliefs and values) are the major ingredients of interracial communication. Second, the authors convert their model, and hence the six ingredients, into the major chapters of the book. This technique offers the reader an easy-to-follow organizational scheme.

The two best chapters in the book are found at the beginning of the volume. These two chapters view the practice of interracial communication from a somewhat unique and original point of view. Chapter Three, with its emphasis on racism, and Chapter Four with its treatment of power differences, present the reader with information that helps explain the causes as well as the effects of poor interracial communication. Most books in interracial and intercultural communication primarily examine the effects of the cross-cultural encounter — their concern is *how* people behave. We are seldom offered the reasons and the motivations behind that behavior. However in Chapters Three and Four we can read how racism and power influence the interracial meeting.

A second major attribute of the book is its emphasis on prescriptions for improvement in interracial communication. At the conclusion of each chapter this emphasis on improvement is underscored by a series of very practical and inventive "Awareness Exercises." In addition, there is an entire chapter at the end of the book that has this theme as its main focus as the authors discuss, among other items, "Conditions Necessary for Improving Interracial Communication."

The major weakness of this volume is a problem that plagues all textbook authors — what should be included, and the corollary question, what should be excluded? After reflecting on the target audience, the state of the field, and their particular interest and expertise, authors must decide on the specific content of the book. However, because any discipline contains much more than can be treated in any single volume, authors face difficult decisions as they try to justify their final selections. On occasion, what is left out is more important than what has been included. This issue of inclusion and exclusion is compounded when the volume is brief, as is the case with *Crossing Difference*. I would suggest that even though the book is fairly useful as an introduction to interracial communication, its over-all impact is weakened by what has been omitted. For example, in the foreword of the book an important philosophical premise is asserted: "Most people today want closer ties with each other." The problem is that this statement is made but never defended. Since it serves as the rationale for the entire book, it needs to be developed and discussed, because it may not even be true! Regardless of the validity of an assertion, setting it down on paper does not automatically validate it.

It seems somewhat unfortunate that only one page is devoted to the topic of perception, a key concept in intercultural communication, while at the same time the authors devote large portions of their book to various line drawings that seem to lack any content and to be of dubious artistic value. Even significant topics such as values and beliefs are glossed over so that the publishers could find space to yield to the fads of "pop art" and "multi-media presentations."

Third, the inclusion/exclusion fault is perhaps most manifest in the authors' treatment of language differences. They see fit to select a rather standard and elementary general semantics analysis of language (bypassing, lumping, polarization, denotation and connotation), instead of the timely and interesting topics of Black argot, vernacular, dialect and "the linguistics of white supremacy." This chapter, like many of the others, suffers from a limited theoretical perspective. The intercultural researcher and the advanced student will discover little that is new in this book. However, it should once again be noted that they are not the intended audience.

Even with the weaknesses just cited, the Blubaugh and Pennington treatment will be quite useful for many teachers. Supplemented with another text, or with additional readings, the book will serve as a relatively good introduction to the practice of interracial communication.

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FOUNDATIONS OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION. By K. S. Sitaram and Roy T. Cogdell. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1976, pp. x+245, $10.95.

The approach used in this textbook is commendable. Sitaram, of Indian (Asia) descent, and Cogdell, a Black American, attempt to view the study of intercultural communication from many different cultural perspectives. The authors comment on their approach, noting that "a tremendous amount of attention has been given to cultures in Japan, China, India, Africa, and other so-called third world nations which have been ignored traditionally in scholarly writings." They then claim to give considerable attention to "the thought of minority scholars within the United States. These would include Americans of African, Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican ancestry." The lack of fulfillment of these aims, the uneven treatment given to some minority groups and the omission of others, and lack of documentation limit both the credibility and usefulness of this text.

Much of the material presented in Chapter One, "The Study of Intercultural Communication," including the need for studying and approaches to studying this area, could have been combined with their next chapter, "Components of Intercultural Communication." Chapter Two also contains several definitions, many of which are revisions of an earlier article by Sitaram, with interracial communication receiving the greatest attention. The MSM (Mind, Sense Organs, and Medium) model of communication is also developed in this chapter. The next two chapters, "Perception of the World" and "Retention of Information" include descriptions of American, Buddhist, Hindu, and Greek concepts, and the chapters on "Verbal" and "Nonverbal Communication" follow. The "Expression of Ideas" in "Mass Media Communication" are discussed in Chapter Seven. Chapter Eight, "Value Systems," is discussed later in this review. "Cultural Institutions," including the family, church, and mass media, are discussed in Chapter Nine, though much of this material is repetitive. The book ends with a consideration of "Principles and Ethics of Intercultural Communication." Thus many worthwhile and relevant topics seem to be included.

The authors' promise of covering many different cultures proves too great a task. The Indian culture in Asia is discussed widely, and several references are made to the Japanese. The attention given to Africa and China is paltry. Two specific references to Africa are included. The first reveals that African tribal members perceive crooked lines more accurately than urban Americans; the second, referring to memory, uses an example which obscures more than it clarifies the point. Although attention is given to storytelling as traditional media, the griot (the storyteller in West Africa) and the significance of the oral tradition in Africa are not mentioned. Though a wealth of research data does exist on Africa, it generally has not been included in this text. The treatment given to the Chinese culture is equally sparse. A few references are made to Mao Tse-Tung, including a confusing illustration of the elevation of the status of women by Mao Tse-Tung and Ghandi. Some generalizations are drawn about perception, but as a whole the Chinese culture receives little attention.

Two American minorities that are virtually ignored are women and Native Americans. The omission of women is important because of the standard for comparison that the authors select — the white male. Feminists would argue that their treatment by white males has traditionally been as discriminatory as the way Blacks have been treated. Since the Black-White issue is developed throughout the book, the omission becomes serious. The few examples that pertain to women tend to show them in traditional and/or submissive roles. "Status of women" is discussed in the chapter on "Nonverbal Communication," while "masculinity" (but not femininity) and "motherhood" are value systems. Nor is their explanation of masculinity, with statements such as, "the element of masculinity is generally built into the male role," particularly enlightening. One specific reference to Whorf's linguistic analysis of the Hopi Indians is made. Chicanos are lumped with Blacks in a one-paragraph description of the Minority Small Business program, while Mexican-Americans rate two paragraphs of discussion. The plight of the native Hawaiians receives more specific treatment.

The chapter on Value Systems is weakened because of the classification of cultures that the authors use. They wish to classify values according to "five major cultures of the world," including the Western ("the white man who lives in the Americas, Europe and elsewhere"), Eastern ("Hindus and Buddhists"), African ("there is possibly more than one culture in Africa, but we have taken common factors from the available data on the subcultures"), Muslim ("Although Muslims live in many Asian countries, including India, their culture is distinct."), and American Black. Their explanation for choosing these five is the availability of data, and the fact that these comprise "almost 90 per cent of the world's population." According to their definition, therefore, are the non-Hindus and non-Buddhists in Asia "Western"? In order for the "90 per cent" claim to be valid, the Chinese must be considered somewhere — but where? Muslims in the Middle East, where they are the dominant culture, and in Africa, where their influence has been felt for centuries, do not seem to be accounted for, nor are many peoples in the Americas. Indeed, the many gaps in their classification system are obvious.

Documentation often is not provided when needed. Many passing references are made to "studies" which are not listed in any bibliography, including studies that correlate seating arrangements and grades in the classroom, the closeness of healthy to sick people and length of time of cure, the Lazarsfield study on opinion leadership, and a study which shows that "the majority of nonviolent cultures exist in Asia and Africa." Perhaps these are legitimate research studies, but the authors should provide documentation for readers who wish further information.

The authors go into great detail about the Black-White language controversy, a topic to which Ossie Davis addressed himself ten years ago. Many of the examples the authors cite were also used by Davis in developing his thesis that "white" often connotes good, purity and innocence in English, while "black" often connotes evil, but Davis' name is not mentioned. Piaget's theories of intelligence are discussed without specific reference to any of his works, although one specific reference is given in the elaboration of Erickson's approach to concept development.

Despite the inadequacies of this text, some positive points should be noted. First, the "definitions" chapter contains some useful information. Also, the descriptions of perception and retention from some Eastern perspectives has merit. Finally, the authors introduce the topic of ethics However the book often seems to be disorganized, repetitive, and contains many unsupported assertions that could either be supported or eliminated. If Sitaram and Cogdell revise their text and narrow their aims, provide documentation of the many studies to which they have alluded, select examples that clarify issues rather than obscure them, and use valid and meaningful classifications, perhaps the text will be more useful to students and others who are involved in the study of intercultural communication.

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INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION: A READER. By Larry A. Samovar and Richard E. Porter (Eds.). Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1976, 2nd Edition, pp. vii+391, $6.95.

"Multicultural man is, at once, both old and new. He is very much the timeless universal person described again and again by philosophers through the ages. . . . What is new about this type of person and unique to our time is a fundamental change in the structure and process of his identity." These lines, written by Peter S. Adler in the final selection in *Intercultural Communication: A Reader*, might also be used to describe the book itself. Adler posits the emergence of "multicultural man" from a classical past; Samovar and Porter demonstrate the evolution of our thinking about intercultural communication through their choice of articles and essays. Not only do the writings make reference to these changes, but they are themselves indicative of such change. From Margaret Mead's anthropological assessment of "Some Cultural Approaches to Communication Problems," appearing first in 1948, and Harry Hoijers exposition of "The Sapin-Whorf Hypothesis," written in 1954, to those essays by Cathcart and Cathcart, Folb, Yousef and Samovar and Porter, and the adaptations of articles by Barna and Ackermann, all of which are first printed in this collection, an understanding is gained of the roots of this area of communication study and of the dynamic nature of the discipline.

This is not to suggest that the book is organized in a simple, chronological fashion. Rather, an ingenious and imaginative pattern of organization has been devised which focuses upon four main parts: (1) Intercultural Communication: An Introduction; (2) Socio-Cultural Influences: What We Bring to Intercultural Communication; (3) Intercultural Interaction: Taking Part in Intercultural Communication; and (4) Intercultural Communication: Becoming More Effective.

Thirty-five selections are arranged under these four main divisions, with all except Part One having two chapter headings under each part. Thus each chapter contains from three to seven separate selections, which provides a topical sub-organizational plan within each major part. Although this may sound rather cumbersome, and indeed may appear so to the uninitiated reader, in reality it proves to be a very functional pattern for studying intercultural communication. Each topic is covered from several points of view, and since both recent works as well as those of long-standing are included in each topic, the reader will discern points of development in each area.

This book, after all, is "a reader," not a text with a single point of view. As such it bears an obligation to reflect, insofar as possible, the widespread views and varieties of approaches to knowledge that are to be found within the area of intercultural communication. Inasmuch as most who work in the field find intercultural communication to be an interesting admixture of art and science, as are most phases of study in communication, one would hope to find this combination reflected in the selections. The editors have not disappointed us. Not only is the broad scope reflected in the introductory essay by Samovar and Porter; the articles themselves contain no narrow perspectives, although each reflects a particular emphasis. Frances F. Karten, for example, emphasizes objective measurement of data in "The Influence of Culture on the Perception of Persons," but in no way suggests that only objective data are useful to the scholar in this field. Likewise Arturo Madrid-Barela, in his article, "Towards an Understanding of the Chicano Experience," presents historical data along with his own insights without demeaning the importance of scientifically acquired data. Samuel L. Becker's article, "Directions for Inter-Cultural Communication Research," perhaps more than any other single piece, reflects the "complexity of the task of inter-cultural communication and inter-cultural communication research."

An inherent difficulty in collections of this sort is the redundancy to be found among the selections from the various authors. However, the introductory notes provided for each major part of this book prepare the reader for such repetitions. In the frame of reference thus provided, redundancy is not a negative feature but a positive reinforcement of concepts.

As Samovar and Porter state in their introduction to Part I, "The arena of intercultural communication has not been completely established although there appears to be increasingly greater agreement about what it is."Finding authors from diverse fields utilizing some of the same terminology, concepts, and data to explore differing aspects of intercultural communication leaves the reader with the feeling that we are, indeed, at least describing the boundaries of our area of study. Although this feeling may represent, to some degree, the editors' own conception of the field, it still provides the student with a useful orientation to the study of intercultural communication.

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INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATOR RESOURCES. By H. Ned Seelye and V. Lynn Tyler (Eds.). Provo: Brigham Young University, 1977.

This collection is unquestionably one of the most useful works yet published in the intercultural communication field. It is an excellent beginning point for the trainer, educator, student and researcher; even the casual reader will find valuable information about the field. The core of the volume is a 40-page annotated list of books, which includes most of the seminal writings on the subject. Over half these annotations are done by the authors with the assistance of Jacqueline Wasilewski and Charles Pieper. The annotations enhance the value of the bibliography, particularly for practitioners with limited time for screening and evaluating materials.

In addition to the bibliography of books, this volume contains a chapter on other print and media materials (which includes articles, films, video tapes, periodicals and organizational resources), a chapter on communication and media sources, a chapter on fugitive materials, a chapter for using other resources, and a list of other available bibliographies. The volume ends with an appendix of "Topic Listings," which consists of a typical list of topics relating to the needs of intercultural communicators.

One weakness of the book appears in the chapter on "Other Print and Media Material." Here the grouping of articles, films, tapes, periodicals and organizational resources is confusing and time-consuming. In subsequent editions hopefully these subsections will be isolated (as they are in other chapters) for easy use. The listing and annotation of films is also brief. A growing body of film available for use in cross-cultural training and education might have been included to enhance the utility of the work.

The chapter on communication and media sources strikes this reviewer as incomplete, since it lists books, periodicals, articles, papers, film organizations, international communication agencies and libraries which — with the exception of the articles and papers listed — are primarily concerned with communication and information media in general rather than having specific or clearly identified focus on the intercultural field. This is not to suggest that this section should be eliminated in future editions, but clarification might be offered to indicate how these resources can be most useful to professionals in the intercultural communication field.

The section on fugitive materials lists mimeographed, copied and other kinds of materials which have not been commercially printed and which are in the collection at the Language and Intercultural Research Center at Brigham Young University. Many of these papers were presented at professional association meetings and might be available through the ERIC system; anyone who has used ERIC for research on intercultural subjects will recognize limitations, though it is helpful to know these works have been collected in one place.

The Language and Intercultural Research Center (LIRC) has in recent years done a superlative job of collecting and disseminating information on intercultural communication and cross-cultural training, and in encouraging and supporting professionals engaged in these activities. All fugitive materials, as well as those volumes listed in the bibliography of books which are included in the LIRC collection, are provided with identification numbers for the convenience of the reader. One thing not included, however, is how the Center may be used other than physically going there to conduct research. Are manuscripts, books, articles, and parts of books available under a microfilm or photocopy system?

It should be mentioned that all items indicate whether they include bibliographic information. This is an extremely valuable reference for the person who is beginning a research project and hopes to find documents which will not only provide information but will suggest additional resources as well.

The section titled "Other Resources" is especially valuable, including sub-sections on "Directories," "Information Retrieval Possibilities," "Collections of Available Materials," and "Universities and Institutions Conducting Research." A listing of these kinds of resources is particularly valuable for the person pursuing varied, and occasionally not wholly identified, interests and concerns. These kinds of resources help the individual specify what is being sought and where it may be found. A useful addition to this list would be an indication of which academic institutions offer graduate degree programs.

The book was published by the Brigham Young University Language and Cultural Research Center in conjunction with the Bilingual Education Department of the Illinois Office of Education. This is another example of these two organizations, under the leadership of Lynn Tyler and Ned Seelye respectively, making a substantial contribution and providing significant impetus to the field. Anyone interested in intercultural communication should obtain this volume if possible, or be alert for publication of the next edition.

DAVID S. HOOPES
Society for Intercultural Education,
Training and Research (SIETAR)

INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION. By Heinz-Dietrich Fischer and John C. Merrill (Eds.). New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1976, pp. XX+524. $22.50. Paper $12.50.

My first impression of the second edition is that it is considerably improved in certain areas over the first edition. One of the basic problems is that there is really no other standard work of this type available which makes possible some meaningful comparisons. Thus, in many ways, the review of this book is even more subjective than such efforts tend to be, but it will be based on personal use of both editions in classes conducted by the reviewer.

Probably the greatest improvement in the book is the sincere attempt by its editors to provide more contemporary thinking and theoretical background than was available in the first edition, while at the same time avoiding the overemphasis on the print media and traditional U.S. journalistic points of view which dominated the first edition.

Probably the most severe problem in the current edition is the fact that both Fischer and Merrill need to do considerably more work in coordinating and otherwise integrating the material in the book. The introductory pages for each segment are at best perfunctory, and do not help sufficiently to integrate the views presented in each area. The inclusion of articles by the editors, furthermore, helps little in developing a more integrated textbook. Students need help, and so do others who would like to gain understanding, rather than being presented with an overwhelming variety of views and insights. The book, as a result, suffers from the same maladies as most textbooks which consist of collections of materials not specifically written for that publication.

Another major problem is the fact that the editors need to make up their minds as to what is really *international* in scope of their work, and what is a description or discussion of communication systems in various nations of the world. In addition, the attempt to include intercultural communication is not well-developed. The articles presented in that particular section are so limited and select that they do little except reinforce some specific prejudices or confirm ideas already held. One gets the feeling that the editors have become aware of current interest in some areas but did not go to the trouble of evaluating the available material adequately. Along the same line, it is still evident that the editors are most comfortable among those of their own kind, journalists. Since few people in the field of journalism have contributed significantly to theoretical insights in the area of international and intercultural communication, the resulting emphasis of this book tends to be superficial.

Organization is probably something about which individuals disagree. I prefer to discuss theoretical concepts first, as a basis for evaluation of facts presented later on. The Fischer and Merrill book tends to put theoretical concepts at the end or intermingles them in such a manner as to weaken their impact. I doubt very much that we contribute a great deal to an understanding of international and intercultural communication by continuing to emphasize the applicability of American standards, and such concepts as "Freedom of the Press" as we see it. The mere "confrontation" developed through papers by an American and Russian author on the subject, for instance, does little to develop the theme in depth. The Fischer and Merrill book is very ethnocentric or "Western-culture-oriented" in its approach.

On the other hand, it is interesting to read the account given by a representative of the Third World, Chanchal Sarkar, as he describes "Journalists' Organizations in Socialist Society." It is probably too much to expect U.S. and West-German editors to do anything but organize a book on the basis of the values developed in their own cultures, but as a result some chapters, such as Merrill's "Global Patterns of Elite Daily Journalism" have a difficult time escaping the chauvinistic emphasis so much U.S. writing has represented to people in other parts of the world. It is, furthermore, not enough to deal with facts to understand where International Communication is going. One possible indication of the limited views the editors have allowed themselves to develop is seen in the fact that Schramm's chapter on "World Distribution of the Mass Media" has a 1964 dateline and the article dealing with satellites, by Krause-Ablass, is only some 4½ pages long.

The editors have updated material quite well, and there are many articles which present interesting insights into national systems of communication. The effect is less impressive when one considers insights into international affairs or international functions of the mass media. There is still considerable linearity in the approach used, which may be partially the result of the editors' insufficient work in relating the bits and pieces presented in the articles. The book will demand a considerable amount of understanding and background by any teacher who uses it, and it probably will not completely satisfy anyone dealing with the area of international communication. It will certainly not do much for those of us working in intercultural communication. For the present it is the only major and broad-based compilation of its kind, and thus the only means of filling an existing need.

FRED L. CASMIR
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A MANUAL OF STRUCTURED EXPERIENCES FOR CROSS-CULTURAL LEARNING. By William H. Weeks, Paul B. Pedersen and Richard W. Brislin (Eds.). Pittsburgh: Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research, 1977, pp. xii+117, $3.65.

While half of the fifty-nine structured group exercises in this *Manual* have been known to trainers for some time, and even while many of these have only minimal adaptability to cross-cultural training *per se*, to have them organized in a single place and set in a concise format makes this volume well worth its $3.65 price tag. By my count, admittedly subjective, only about one-third of the experiences are significantly cross-cultural in nature to include them as "cross-cultural exercises." The rest are part of the bag of tricks of those trainers who have been engaged, for the past ten years or so, in group process and human relations training. They are as applicable for *any* group, as they are either for a culturally mixed group or for a group preparing to live, work, or visit in a foreign country. Still, twenty useful cross-cultural exercises represent a sizable contribution to the sparse literature in this field, and any trainer should be able to find at least twenty new exercises in this volume.

Paul Pedersen and William Howell have written a thoughtful prefatory essay titled "Pros and Cons of Using Structured Exercises in Intercultural Groups." A number of pertinent points are made in this section. Perhaps the most important is the observation that people from all cultures may not react favorably to all of these structured experiences. Indeed, running throughout the exercises is the common thread of an American approach of frankness, openness, and a "tell it like it is" attitude, which certainly is not natural to people of all cultures. People from many cultures do not react favorably to direct feedback given in front of their peers and, as Pedersen and Howell point out, most cultures are not accustomed to using "pretend" situations to simulate serious purposes. The ten points given as arguments in favor of using structured experiences are good ones, even if they are American culture-bound, and will probably convince American cross-cultural trainers (among others) to try these structured experiences.

The Introduction spells out the important role the group facilitator plays and the importance of properly "processing" the participants' reactions to the various exercises so that what they have experienced can become part of their cognitive knowledge.

The body of fifty-nine exercises or "experiences" is divided into nine categories: participant introduction and initial group experience, dynamics of communication, clarification of values, identification of roles, group process, recognition of feelings and attitudes, community interaction, brainstorming tasks and problems, and multiple objectives. Interestingly enough, I found the section on recognition of feelings and attitudes to contain the greatest number of exercises which are truly cross-cultural in nature.

The structured experiences themselves are so varied that it is difficult to describe them adequately in a brief review. Even to name them is less than descriptive because the names of the exercises often are not explicit. This volume is the most valuable compendium of group exercises for cross-cultural trainers available to date. The exercises are explained simply and clearly, and the trainer is invited to adapt them freely. The writers owe much to William Pfeiffer and John Jones, who are surely the "deans" of the "structured experience," and whose handbooks and annuals containing scores of such experiences are referenced in the brief but useful bibliography.

If the book lacks anything it is, it seems to me, a few situations which simulate other cultures realistically — even a theoretical, nonexistent "other culture" — to a training group which is all too often composed entirely of white, middle-class Americans who have had no first-hand exposure to other cultures. It is not an easy task to design such experiences convincingly, but it is one which ought to be attempted because they are so badly needed if cross-cultural training is to prepare people to function in other cultures.

The editors specifically request trainers who use the volume to provide them with feedback, to make revised editions even more practical and valuable. SIETAR (Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research) also plans soon to publish a larger volume of cross-cultural exercises which have been collected in the course of their State of the Art study. The two volumes together will provide cross-cultural trainers with numerous ideas to thoroughly revitalize the field.

L. ROBERT KOHLS
United States Information Agency

ORIENTATIONS TO INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION. By Sharon Ruhly. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1976, pp. 33, $1.75.

Orientations to Intercultural Communication, part of the MODCOM series (Modules in Speech Communication), was written as an introduction to intercultural communication. In fulfilling this purpose, the author provides a clear, concise and systematic presentation of the concepts necessary to build a foundation for understanding intercultural communication.

Chapter 1 introduces the reader to several definitional assumptions, including definitions of communication and culture, distinctions between international and domestic intercultural communication, the importance of studying intercultural communication, and major components to be examined. Chapter 2, "Differences in Thoughts and Feelings," provides definitions and examination of the nature of beliefs, values, attitudes and assumptions. Edward T. Hall's three levels of culture — technical, formal and informal — are explained in depth, to further describe the phenomena of intercultural encounters. Chapter 3 examines differences in behavior which affect intercultural communication, including perception, symbol systems (verbal and nonverbal), and role behaviors and expectations. Within perception, emphasis is placed upon selection and organization of stimuli, including an explanation of closure and interpretation as factors affecting perception. Chapter 4 deals with such major intercultural concepts as ethnocentrism, stereotyping, prejudice and tension. Chapter 5 suggests ways to become interculturally "skilled," and discusses important intercultural qualities, offering the culture-specific and culture-general approaches as means of acquiring intercultural skills.

The overall approach of this work is commendable. The author discusses the essential elements of intercultural communication in a well-organized and clearly-developed manner. Especially for the novice, the examples provided are clear and practical. Throughout the module, the author compares culture to an iceberg; the analogy is that, like the iceberg, much of what is "culture" lies beyond our immediate awareness (below the surface). This comparison assists the reader in understanding the complexity of "hidden" variables and "hidden" assumptions in intercultural situations, and provides overall unity for the information presented in the module. Numerous examples are offered to illustrate important concepts.

The module is offered as a self-contained instructional package, aimed at the cognitive understanding of intercultural communication. At the beginning, the reader is presented with fourteen objectives; study guide questions stimulate the reader to identify major concepts and to relate them to practical situations. At the conclusion of each chapter, point-by-point summaries synthesize major ideas for review. Exercises follow each section, and serve as a bridge between cognitive and behavioral implications; references and suggested readings are provided. With the module format in mind, *Orientations to Intercultural Communication* can be used successfully as a unit in a basic communication course or as a supplement for more specialized intercultural courses. As an introduction, the work deserves consideration from those involved in the instruction of intercultural communication.

DIANA L. HUTCHINSON
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PERSPECTIVES ON CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION. By Carley H. Dodd. Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1977, pp. vi+109, $4.95.

In his beginning text on cross-cultural communication, Dodd sets out to offer an integrated introduction for the "serious student" to the "basic dimensions" of cross-cultural interaction. He attempts to fashion this result out of the contributions of six separate disciplines. Dodd's success or lack of it may best be assessed by reference to a series of key questions: Was the book truly intercultural in its perspective? Did the book achieve a coherent integration of ideas? Were these ideas presented in such a way that a beginning student could comprehend them? Was the text timely? Did the text itself communicate well?

Unlike some other texts, the Dodd text adopts a [illegible]rican perspective. The book examines at length certain studies of small grou[illegible]xample, without offering any studies or reflection upon whether gr[illegible]e made to function in an analogous fashion in all societies. Like[illegible]atment of opinion leadership and of information diffusion, the examples furnished (in addition to being largely second-hand) are drawn predominantly from the American experience. These and other examples are sprinkled with expressions and examples which remind the reader of America: the author stresses "problem-solution" groups in place of ascribed groups, with a resultant stress on product rather than on continued smooth interpersonal relationships; references are made to "pet rock barter" and to "numerous exotic cultures," to those Americans who "speak mostly in terms of *(sic)* the nuclear family" or to the conspicuous non-capitalization of "god(s)" on a diagram where other items are given stylistic deference. Unlike other books on the market, which could arguably be used in other nations, the Dodd book is largely culture-bound in its perspectives.

To consider if the text achieved a coherent integration of ideas, the reader must ask whether the logic of selection of ideas was offered, whether that logic is defensible, and whether the presentation was itself coherent and lucid. Selected by the author for treatment were cultural perspectives on cross-cultural communication (useful), groups (culture-bound), linguistic perspectives (necessary but not clearly developed), nonverbal perspectives (a rehash of Hall's work), social change (arbitrary and overly-reliant on the work of Rogers and Shoemaker) and diffusion of innovations (again somewhat arbitrary). Missing was an extended treatment of values, perception, identity, race and ethnicity, international media, stereotyping, and other arguably relevant topics. The author's logic of selection should have been more clearly presented and defended.

The new student to the area of cross-cultural communication would find Dodd's introduction useful, and would probably benefit from the periodic insertion of "probes" to elaborate points within the main text. But the use of unclear constructions, underelaborated ideas, the lack of clarity of definitions, the varying level of difficulty of the work, and the arbitrariness of selection of topics detract from the impact of the text. The discerning student, though new to the field, might be worried by misspellings, faulty use of commas and grammar, equivocation on key ideas, lack of elaboration on several of Dodd's too-curt overviews of Sapir-Whorf or of the notion of "sense ratios," and by factual errors in presentation of dates of studies and the like.

The text went to press at a moment when a well-integrated and highly-synthetic work would have found a ready market. In this sense it was timely. But the selection of works by authors such as Rogers and Hall, as examples, offers no special insights which justify the text as filling the need that exists for a really coherent overview of the field at an introductory level. Bernstein is another writer who is in danger of becoming overworked by repetition, but who was included at length in the text.

The Dodd text is probably of limited value for introduction into the offerings of any non-American institution. The author's reference to messages "with nonverbal content and symbolic overtones," to "colonized" and "submissive" American militants, to women who are "more chattlelike than anything else," or to the comparison of the impact of messages in French *versus* English as matters merely of "dialect," among a plethora of such examples, will leave even the introductory student puzzled as to his meanings.

WILLIAM STAROSTA
University of Virginia

READINGS IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION: VOLUME V, INTERCULTURAL PROGRAMMING. By David S. Hoopes (Ed.). Pittsburgh: The Intercultural Communications Network, 1976, pp. 201.

Intercultural communication is a concept that has grown from zero recognition to wholesale use in a few short years. A publication that has reflected this trend, and has given aid to its health and growth, is the series of *Readings in Intercultural Communication* edited by David S. Hoopes. Previous volumes have concentrated on workshops, college courses, research and counseling. Volume V concerns intercultural programming, which it defines as "the conduct of cross- or multi-cultural programs which consciously use intercultural communication concepts to further the learning or develop the communication skills of foreign nationals in the U.S. and/or the Americans with whom they come in contact." It contains eighteen short articles written by professionals describing programs that have "worked" for them in orientation, re-entry, leadership and interview training for international students; host family training; cross-cultural counseling; cultural awareness for faculty and staff; and intercultural communication skill development for international and American students through workshops, study courses and living arrangements. It lives up to the reputation of the preceding volumes and even "old hands" will find some new and useful ideas. It deserves careful perusal.

Intercultural communication is used both as a tool and as a goal in this reader, often both at once. All the programs involve international students in some way, either as facilitators or as direct recipients of the training. Only a few articles are confined to general program descriptions or administrative procedures without outlines of specific objectives, assumptions or a rationale. Nearly all include descriptions of structured activities and/or interactions.

Most of the suggested formats make liberal use of the small group process, seemingly in agreement with the editor's statement that programs that are "most intense and most personally involving seem to be the most valuable — at least in the eyes of the participants." In no case, however, is there an absence of planning for conceptual and intellectual challenge for the participants. There is a good mixture of the cognitive and the experiential. Only one article by Josef A. Mestenhauser entitled "How to Interview Foreign Students" falls into a category of its own by being frankly prescriptive. His advice is good and comes complete with checklists. *Intercultural Programming* does just what it says it will do: "Help the practitioner comprehend better what he or she is doing and suggest some improved or alternative ways of doing it."

A few cautions for the reader are in order. With one notable exception (the contribution of Benjamin J. Broome, "A Support Group Model for Cross-Cultural Orientation"), very little theoretical background accompanies the suggested programming. It is a conscious omission but those who are not acquainted with the theories of intercultural communication, small group interaction, acculturation, learning, etc., will need to augment this book with other sources. Helpful bibliographies are included after many articles.

Broome's article also includes the warning that American students are difficult to find for participation in this type of programming, something that is well known to the experienced practitioner but might surprise the neophyte. Margaret D. Pusch, in her article "The Cultural Connection: Foreign Students in the Schools," describes the likelihood of a U-curve adjustment pattern occurring when foreign students work for a period of time with U.S. children or adults. Unless experts are there for guidance and participants stay for completion of the program, frustration and disappointment may occur. Many authors emphasize the need for experienced directors and facilitators in any program.

Another caution for readers is that most individual exercises and lecturettes are not sufficiently detailed for someone to use who has no background at all. *Intercultural Programming* is not meant to be a do-it-yourself manual for those with interest but no training. It is directed toward practitioners already familiar with the concepts of intercultural communication who may not have thought of the variety of purposes and forms in which these concepts can be used to enhance learning. These persons will have a good time with this book, mixing and matching what others have devised to fit procedures and goals of their own.

LaRay M. Barna
Portland State University

TALKIN AND TESTIFYIN: THE LANGUAGE OF BLACK AMERICA. By Geneva Smitherman. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977, pp. 291, $8.95.

Talkin and Testifyin is not merely another book about Black English; it is a creative synthesis of language, culture, communication and feeling. The purposes of this book are: (1) to serve as an orientation to Black language and culture, and (2) to describe the impact of Black language and culture upon communication. The first five chapters present a description of the history of Black English structure, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, oral traditions, and modes of discourse in Black English. The final two chapters describe a history of Black-White language attitudes, and the implications of language variance on social and educational policies.

While the author appears to have written this book for the general population as an overview of culture and communication in Black America, the primary audience seems to be Black. Written from clearly a Black frame of reference, the volume is designed to produce identification with Black readers. Much of the ambiance surrounding this book is created by the author's tendency to code switch from standard English to Black idiom. Combined with a series of interracial cartoons throughout the text, the bidialectal writing strategy serves to suggest both the nature of the language itself, as well as the social and political implications of historical and contemporary Black English usage. It is refreshing to read an account of Black verbal behavior written by a native-speaking author. For some non-Blacks, the cultural viewpoints expressed verbally and non-verbally may appear to be somewhat oversimplified and stereotypical. However, to succumb to this tendency and suggest cultural bias is to deny the author one of her strongest arguments, that Black English is a living and vital aspect of the Black experience. Influenced by both positive and negative perspectives about the dominant society, the development of Black English reflects the operation of a "push-pull" syndrome — the push being toward the acceptance of White culture, and the pull resulting from the desire to identify with the Black American's cultural and racial legacy. The dynamics of push-pull can help to illuminate the complex sociolinguistic situation that continues to exist in Black America. By articulating her own cultural viewpoints, some of which White readers will find uncomfortable, the author illustrates conditions and perceptions common in Black experience which have had a profound impact on the development of Black English. Black English is a well defined language code which grew out of social, economic, and poltical conditions and is a living and vital aspect of Black life. Smitherman demonstrates these qualities in her own writing, as well as drawing heavily from dialect research, art, literature, philosophy, folklore, preaching, and the streets.

Linguistically, *Talkin and Testifyin* presupposes little if any previous experience in the study of language. While it is possible to find what is reported here in other readily available and more comprehensive treatments of the various aspects of Black English, the unique contribution of this volume lies in its ability to provide a holistic portrait of the complicated sociolinguistic features of language and style in such a way that the treatment is both accurate and stimulating.

Throughout the text, the author adopts a creolist perspective of Black English development. A pidgin developed as a language of transaction between African slaves and White slaveholders. Over a period of time, this mixture of English and the West African languages developed, became widely distributed, and gradually evolved into a creole. Smitherman argues, "Black Dialect is an Africanized form of English reflecting Black America's linguistic-cultural African heritage, and the conditions of servitude, oppression, and life in America. Black Language is Euro-American speech with an Afro-American meaning, nuance, tone and gesture." Utilizing examples from various sources, *Talkin and Testifyin* reviews those discourse patterns and communication styles unique to Black society including rapping, signifying, the dozens, sounding, toasts, and talking back. Particularly excellent are the discussions of the tonal aspects of Black semantics and the "call-response" characteristics of Black preaching.

Unlike many existing works dealing with Black English, this volume makes a direct contribution to the study of intercultural communication by discussing the interpersonal, social, and educational implications of Black language variance. Identifying the effects of language form and differences on Black-White relations, ethnic identification, and academic achievement, the author presents insight into many of the problems encountered by Blacks in the dominant society. While this segment of the text contributes to our understanding of potential interracial communication problems, it does little to suggest solutions beyond discussing programs which appear to be in the right direction.

Overall, *Talkin and Testifyin* presents a carefully prepared, well written treatment of Black language, culture, and communication. The book's significance lies in its ability to transcend the frequently explored general concerns found in many works on Black English, and focus on the elements of the language itself, its historical antecedents, social development, and the way Black English functions as a communication system. It is perhaps in the latter category that this book makes its major contribution. After reading this book, one cannot avoid feeling as well as understanding the form, scope, and usage of Black English.

WILLIAM G. DAVEY
Arizona State University

TOPICS IN CULTURE LEARNING. Volume 4. By Richard W. Brislin (Ed.). Honolulu: East-West Center, 1976, pp. 78.

Humility and an appreciation of growth may be the prime requisites for reading Volume 4 of *Topics in Culture Learning*. Consistently the authors have woven the same intangible properties into their individual articles and into the work as a whole. Humility is necessarily prerequisite *and* product when one considers the scope of the articles contained. A third of the seventy-eight page volume reflects the movement "Towards Cross-Cultural Research" from "A Variety of Perspectives." This cooperative article is the result of presentations and discussions which occurred during a four month project on "Cross-Cultural Research for the Behavioral and Social Scientists" held in 1975-6 at the East-West Center's Culture Learning Institute. This article, as well as the rest of the volume, is "a concrete and tangible demonstration of what can be done cross-culturally. It shows that while cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary collaboration is extremely difficult (due to differences in personalities, in cultures, and in disciplines), it is still possible, and the results can be rewarding and satisfying." Working on the project were fifteen scholars from eight countries and four disciplines. Their discussion is divided into sections on "The cognitive and affective aspects of culture contact," "language and communication," and "culture change." Within this format, fifteen individually-authored pieces treat topics such as international and interethnic stereotypes and prejudices, verbal and nonverbal communication, bilingualism, and the relation of educational and industrial organizations with the surrounding community.

The diversity within the cooperative article continues throughout the rest of the volume. The remaining forty-odd pages contain seven articles treating such topics as cultural exchange in the social sciences, delivery of psychological services in non-western settings, written and oral language learning, "no-saying," attribution in culture learning, and the social issues attendant upon cultural relations.

The main weakness of so many short discussions is the possibility that readers will be left with several unanswered questions. Readers and authors, however, are invited to test what Oshima might call their "referential skills" — encoding and information-requesting. Two excellent resources are available for the latter. Documentation and extensive lists of references appear throughout the entire volume. In addition, the authors of the opening article provide a list of addresses and invite readers to contact them if further information is desired.

A feeling of humility is present at least in part because the authors have shared a moment in their own growth. The reader is not presented with the definitive statement on the topic at hand, but rather a glimpse into the development of "greater awareness and deeper insights into the differences and overlaps in the various disciplines." Growth is at best uneasy, and at times awkward, as conflicting statements are laid bare before our eyes. To say that these moments of conflict and awkwardness appear in *Topics* is not to comment negatively on the work. Rather, the authors have captured and reflected for us a moment in the emergence of a field. Both research and application are focal points of the conflict.

As a research tool in the study of intercultural contact, neither "pure" empiricism nor "pure" introspection has found its comfortable place. Writing on acculturation, Kaurasi seems almost apologetic about the personal nature of the data in observing that "I must warn the reader that because of the absence of empirical data on the Rotumans in urban areas, my observations are highly speculative. Save for the references to Howards' findings (1972) on rural Rotuman, my observations have been drawn heavily from my personal experience as a Rotuman, living now in Fiji." Contrast this statement with one by O'Driscoll, who states that "it seems fair to say that (empirical) research on human values has provided little information about the relationship between values and culture contact. This is partly due to methodological problems in studying values and partly to the lack of a conceptual framework for understanding the empirical linkage between values and other variables relevant to culture contact. Until and unless both of these difficulties can be overcome, our knowledge in this area will remain peripheral." The calls for additional research of an empirical nature are not without merit. However, given the admittedly tentative nature of conclusions drawn from empirical data gathered to date, one must wonder at our apologies for the personal data (which need be considered no less valid).

Use of knowledge is also questioned. Phillip's discussion of "Emerging Issues in Cultural Relations in an Interdependent World" provides the forum for examining the conflict. At the edge of our consciousness is the admission that "the situation prevailing in western societies also seems critical.... Firstly, advanced nations find it difficult to regulate and control unilinear technological growth and the closely linked appetite for super-affluence. Secondly, they appear to be unwilling to reconcile themselves to the real possibility that prudent limits have already been passed in the utilization of scarce nonrenewable resources." A second realization, however, may be somewhat more difficult. Phillip's description of third world education echoes as startlingly applicable to the west: a system which has failed to reform with the times, little done "to enable educational systems to respond more imaginatively and effectively to the aspirations of newly independent nations" (substitute "newly liberated people"), a need for programs of functional, cultural, and "civic" literacy.

The quality of *Topics* may result from so many perspectives being brought together. Its unity of diversity provides an excellent view of the momentary stasis of a field.

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San Jose State University

CUMULATIVE INDEX TO INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION ANNUAL
VOLUMES I—IV, 1974—77

NEMI C. JAIN and WILLARD A. UNDERWOOD

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